

Factors of Secession: The Case of South Sudan

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Abstract

Sudan has been politically unstable for most of its post independence period as it suffered Africa's longest civil war. The country was 'made in error' because its borders attempted to amalgamate alienated groups of nations with little if anything in common. The South did not identify with the Arab led Sudanese society. It had fought for an autonomous model of governance since Sudan's birth in 1956. Among the Southerners there were the advocates for outright secession and advocates for a united Sudan with a decentralized model of governance. After two short federal experiments, the first during the period 1972-1981 initiated by The Addis Ababa Agreement, and the second 2005-2011 initiated by The Comprehensive Peace Agreement, the South opted for secession. In 2011, the South overwhelmingly voted for secession and formed Africa's newest nation, the Republic of South Sudan. The contention of this thesis is that the South's achievement of secession is a result of multiple factors. The impact of the centre's policies, the weakness of the democratic governments, the failure of the peace processes, the existence of historical grievances, and the role of international actors constitute these factors. After providing some of the theoretical literature on secessionist movements, the thesis will focus on the case of Sudan. Through data analysis of primary and secondary sources and field research interviews the paper will provide the rationale of the thesis.

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All the people listed and many more have made this thesis possible. But I alone bear the responsibility of any shortcomings in it.

**"O mankind! We have created you from a male and a female,
and made you into nations and tribes, that you may know one
another."**

[Al Hujurat: 13 - The Quran]

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List of Abbreviations

South:

SANU - Sudan African National Union

SPLA/M - Sudan People Liberation Army/Movement

North:

DUP - Democratic Unionist Party

NCP - National Congress Party

SAF - Sudan Armed Forces

NIF - National Islamic Front

IGAD - Intergovernmental Authority of Development

CPA - Comprehensive Peace Agreement

INC - Interim National Constitution

GNU - Government of National Unit

Introduction

There are many reasons Sudan is a compelling country to study. Sudan, until recently, was Africa's and the Arab world's largest country. It is also the cradle of the world's longest river, the Nile, and the Sudanese government exerts authority over the river's tributaries, the Blue and White Niles. Additionally, the country is endowed with astonishing resources ranging from fertile land to minerals and oil. Sudan's oil reserves were estimated to be among the richest in the continent and its potential agricultural products are considered enough to eradicate hunger in all of Africa.

Sudan's location makes it an intriguing country. Located in northeast Africa, the country is where the Islamic-Arab civilization and the African ones intersect. By disposition, the country was predestined to house diverse groups of people. The advent of British colonizers and the European missionaries added to this diversity. This made the Sudanese national an African, an Arab, a Muslim, a Christian, an animist, a secular, and/or a Shariah-law observant.

The politicisation of some of these identities led to international ramifications that placed Sudan at the centre of the 'War on Terror.' Since Sudan's independence in 1956, polarization of ethnic identities was common. This polarization was the most severe in the last two decades when the ruling party politicized the Islamic identity and affiliated itself with radical Islamist ideologues. In the early-mid 1990s, Sudan provided a sanctuary for Bin Laden as his Saudi government banished him. Subsequently, the U.S. claimed that the country was hosting terrorists and establishing Islamist terrorist links.

This led to Sudan's 1993 designation as a State Sponsor of Terrorism.¹ Other than the Sudanese involvement in the 'War on Terror', historically the leaders of the country have participated indirectly or directly in the Arab-Israeli conflict, in regional affairs including the birth of neighbouring Eritrea and in the Cold War.

Wars and conflict faced Sudan on every front, not only internationally but also nationally. Internally, Sudan has been ravaged by two civil wars. The first is the North-South civil war, also known as Africa's longest civil war, and the second is the conflict in Darfur. Khartoum's involvement in the Darfur conflict resulted in an arrest warrant issued by the International Criminal Court (ICC) for the president of Sudan, Omar Al-Bashir, for crimes against humanity. Omar Al-Bashir's authoritarian prolonged rule is said to eclipse the hopes for a democratic Sudan. Yet, the country underwent four democratic governments in the past five decades and therefore the spirit of revival persists. Sudan also experienced a few federal arrangements that are worth examining. Additionally, Sudan is one of the first few states to experience secession by a referendum in the world. In January 2010, South Sudan exercised its right to self-determination and in June 2011, declared itself as Africa's youngest nation.²

Research objectives

The objective of the thesis is to better understand the factors that underlie the secession of South Sudan. Borrowing from the academic literature on secessionist movements, this thesis will identify the major factors that played a role in the secession of South Sudan. Despite the relevance of colonization and its influence on contemporary

¹ "A World of Information: Sudan," UN Data, accessed Oct. 2010.

² Ibid.

Sudanese affairs, this dissertation proposes that one should look to post Sudanese independence (post 1956) to better understand South Sudan's secession. The thesis will achieve this objective through an examination of two major factors: the impact of Khartoum's post independence socio-economic and political policies and as well, the role of international actors in fanning the flames of secession. Before presenting an analysis of the Sudanese case study, we first present an overview of the insights gained from the literature on secession as to the factors that influence demands for secession.

Analytical Framework

The Latin roots of the term "secede" are 'se' meaning 'apart' and 'cedere' meaning 'to go'. In contemporary political literature, secession refers to "the creation of a new state by the withdrawal of a territory and its population, where that territory was previously part of an existing state."³ John R Wood (1981) was the first to build a comprehensive theoretical framework for secession as a social and political phenomenon. He defines secession as "an instance of political disintegration wherein political actors in one or more subsystems withdraw their loyalties, expectations, and political activities from a jurisdictional centre and focus them on centre of their own."⁴

As can be seen from Wood's statement, nationalism is a principal component of secessionist frameworks. In fact, some scholars like Sambanis suggest that secession, nationalism, decentralization, regionalism, civil war, self-determination, and ethnic

³ Aleksandar Pavkovic and Peter Radan, *Creating New States* (Hampshire: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2007), 5.

⁴ John R. Wood, "Secession: A Comparative Analytical Framework," *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, 14 (March 1981): 111.

conflict are entangled phenomena with no clear divide between them.⁵ The literature on these political terms is extensive and provides many different explanations for secession. Nevertheless, all existing theories on secession and secessionist movements share the underlying assumption that a set of preconditions or factors that lead to the demand of secession can or may be identified. However, scholars differ on what these factors or conditions are.

Perhaps the factor most emphasized by scholars is the social one. Wood calls it the ‘essential’ element for secession⁶. The identity of the group is what forms the core of this factor. The group must share a collective identity and commonality (common ethnicity, culture, and language) and see itself as distinct from the rest in the state. According to Wood, secessionist sentiments are ignited when the secessionist group feels that its identity is being threatened and is suppressed. These feelings are exacerbated when the group experiences discrimination, marginalization and alienation from the state.

Horowitz is another scholar, who like Wood, focuses on the social factor.⁷ He also suggests that the agents of secession are ethnic groups who share a common culture and beliefs. According to Horowitz inequality in ranking and legitimacy between the ethnic groups creates ‘group apprehension’ or ‘group anxiety’ among them.⁸ Here Horowitz adds the economic factor to the literature on secession. He holds that those with better education and economic standards tend to control the political systems over those

⁵ Nicholas Sambanis and Branko Milanovic, “Explaining the Demand for Sovereignty,” (2009): 5. https://bc.sas.upenn.edu/system/files/Sambanis_04.07.09.pdf (accessed Apr. 2011)

⁶ Wood, 112. (all references to Wood are taken from this source)

⁷ Donald Horowitz, *Ethnic Groups in Conflict*, (Los Angeles, University of California Press, Ltd 1985), 179.

⁸ Ibid. (all references to Horowitz are taken from this source)

communities that are less educated. The disadvantaged groups, he proposes will often demand secession.

He states that ‘the path to secession’ is led by “backward groups living in a backward region, advanced groups living in a backward region, advanced groups living in an advanced region, and backward groups living in an advanced region.”⁹ Advanced groups are those who retain the highest number of post secondary graduates, bureaucratic, commercial and professional employment. The ‘backward groups’ are those who lack education and are viewed as ‘indolent, ignorant, and not disposed to achievement.’¹⁰ Advanced regions refer to the states that have a higher than the mean per capita income in the state. Horowitz then suggests that backward groups in advanced regions will want to secede earlier than advanced groups in the state and that backward groups in backward regions will also want to secede more frequently than any other group.¹¹ Horowitz’s theory is relevant to developing countries. This is particularly true in Africa where ethnicity plays a central role in the political and societal arenas. His theory is also pertinent to the African scenario because colonization played a central role in the creation of group dichotomies.

Colonization left certain groups in power. By doing this, the colonial powers set the stage for socio-economic inequalities. Often the group that inherited the political apparatus used it to disperse its language and culture and to withhold economic benefits selectively. Other than creating patterns of inequality, political underrepresentation eliminates the political legitimacy of the state in the eyes of the secessionist group. Wood

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Ibid, 233.

¹¹ Pavkovic and Radan, 183.

describes this as the political precondition or factor of secession. This does not mean that secessionist demands are not present in democratic countries, but it implies that less-democratic countries may have stronger ones.¹²

Daniel Elazar and Arend Lijphart are two scholars who emphasize the inextricable link between democracy, decentralization and social harmony, particularly in plural societies.¹³ They hold that centralization and authoritarianism will induce separatism in plural societies. Similarly, decentralization and democracy will anesthetize separatism. According to Elazar, democracy must be viewed as an alternative to authoritarianism because strongman rule is by disposition “inimical to federalism (decentralization).”¹⁴ More often than not, a strongman is not interested in power sharing and since decentralization is based on the distribution of power it necessarily conflicts with one-man rule.¹⁵

For some scholars the social, economic, and political preconditions are interwoven, and therefore they use all of the three factors to explain secession. They suggest that the three factors essentially fall under the category of the centre’s domestic policies. Anthony Smith is one of the scholars who amalgamated these factors in his studies.¹⁶ His study on separatism and secession focuses on attempts at secession induced by nationalist sentiments in Europe and North America. Among the preconditions, Smith suggests are discrimination and ethnic revival which fall under the category of social factors, and lack of job opportunity and central government’s neglect or mismanagement

¹² Ibid, 109.

¹³ Daniel J. Elazar, *Exploring Federalism*, (Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 1987): 143

¹⁴ Ibid, 80.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Pavkovic and Radan, 187.

of ethnic communities which are pertinent to the economic precondition. Among the case studies Smith examined in the western world are those of the Flemish and the Québécois.

The Flemish separatist movement in Belgium is one of the separatists groups in Europe. It rose as a result of the dissatisfaction with the economic and political dominance of the French-speaking population. In North America, the Québécois population witnessed an unprecedented ethnic revival in the 1960s that gave birth to a separatist movement in Canada. Although Smith's model is based on western experiences, it is applicable to many African and Asian states where secessionist movements ascend due to discrimination and underdevelopment.¹⁷

If the discrimination is prolonged it could create deep-rooted historical grievances. Often the longer the grievances take to get addressed the louder and more unbending the demand for secession is. Pavkovic and Radan are two scholars who consider historical injustices, defined in terms of cultural, economic and political grievances, to be the most reliable indicators to secessionist groups.¹⁸ They hold that when these grievances consolidate, the secessionist groups will start to actualize secession.

Pavkovic, Radan, and Wood did not mention the role of foreign actors in achieving secession. However, the presence of foreign support can be a primary determinant of the secessionist movement's ability to gain de facto secession. Although Horowitz mentions the importance of foreign actors, it is scholars like Young, 1994, and Heraclides, 1991, who stress this in their frameworks. They propose that the international

¹⁷ Pavkovic and Radan, 182.

¹⁸ Ibid, 195.

community has a decisive role. They also suggest that foreign involvement can take many shapes. Support could take the form of ideological encouragement, non-military financial assistance, access to information, funds for military supplies, cross border sanctuaries, military training in exile, military equipment, advisors, peacekeeping personnel, blockades/interdiction, cross border raids and more.¹⁹ Young and Herculides' studies are of great pertinence especially in our globalized world. This is the reason countries such as Eritrea and East Timor were able to achieve secession while others like Chechnya, Kurdistan, and Somaliland still struggle for recognition.

Sudan, its Secessionist South and Secessionist Theories

These are some of the leading interpretations of secession and secessionist movements. This thesis borrows from them to better understand the secession of South Sudan. As in Wood's theory, South Sudan's secession is a result of an amalgamation of a series of dynamic 'conditions.' However, these conditions are not unchanging particularly as the war between Khartoum and the South extended for more than four decades. For example, while the first civil war could be understood in terms of Horowitz's propositions, a backward group in a backward region, the oil discovery in the 1970s in the south changed the dynamics of the situation to perhaps a backward group in an advanced region.

Scholars such as Heather Sharky and El-Fatih Salam emphasized the role of social determinants.²⁰ Southern Sudanese, although they form different tribes with different

¹⁹ Louis Bélanger, Érick Duchesne, and Jonathan Paquin, "Foreign Interventions and Secessionist Movements: The Democratic Factor," *Canadian Journal Of Political Science* (June 2005): 443.

²⁰ Sharkey, "Arab Identity and Ideology in Sudan: The Politics of Language, Ethnicity and Race," *African Affairs* (2008): 4.

tongues, see themselves as distinct groups of people who differ from the racially mixed Northerners. Colonization left only a fraction of the Sudanese society educated and in power, a small Northern Arab minority. As the power fell in their hands, they started to build Sudan on the tenets of Arab tradition. This assimilationist agenda suppressed cultural freedom and incited secessionist sentiments.

David Rodin is another expert on Sudan. Unlike Sharky and Salam, he focused on the economic regional inequity in Sudan and his statistics will be utilized in this thesis.²¹ Khartoum, already with limited resources at the time of independence, concentrated all of its social and economic projects in the Northern region creating regional inequity, marginalization, and underdevelopment. Therefore, it was not a surprise that regional groups, such as the South since the 1950s, the West (Darfur) and East since the 1980s and 1990s, have ascended demanding autonomous models of governance with equal wealth and power sharing.

Scholars like Emeric Rogier stressed the role of international pressure and intrusiveness in the development of Sudan's internal affairs.²² It is difficult for a country that is bordered by nine countries to shield itself from foreign meddling. Sudan's location, as the frontier of Islam and the Arab world in Africa, and its valuable resources internationalized the matter further. Each of its neighbours has an agenda concerning Sudan's progress and has contributed to the civil war directly or indirectly. Some supported Khartoum, some backed the South and ironically some supported both.

²¹ David Rodin, "Regional inequality and Rebellion in the Sudan," *JSTOR* (1974): 496.

²² Emeric Rogier, "No More Hills Ahead? The Sudan's Tortuous Ascent to Heights of Peace," *The Hague, Clingendael* (2005): 5.

The support that has been given to Khartoum or the South has always been the factor that tipped the scale favouring one side over the other. Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD)(an East African organization), and the Friends of IGAD, a few western powers including the United States, will ultimately tip the scale to the South. The above groups assisted the South in negotiating one of the most decentralized forms of government, giving it de facto independence before the referendum.

Methodology

The primary research methods are document analysis and interviews. There is a heavy reliance on qualitative data drawn from primary sources such as government documents, media interviews and journal articles. The Comprehensive Peace Agreement, and The Addis Ababa Agreement are the most salient governmental documents used in this research. Interviews are also a primary source of information. In the months of July and August 2011, I took an expedition to Sudan to further investigate my research question. I was fortunate to interview key informants from the government's leading party, National Congress Party (NCP), and the opposition, Sudan's People Liberation Movement-North (SPLM-N). I also carried out interviews with members of the general public including students. Secondary sources consist of reviews and books. Experts such as Wood, Smith, Elazar, Anderson, and Stevenson provided the core of secondary sources on secession and the principles of decentralization, while the expertise of scholars like Amir Idris, Abdel Salam Sidahmed, Heather Sharkey and Emeric Rogier are employed to dissect Sudan's post-independence troubles.

Structure of the Thesis

Chapter one will proffer an overview of Sudan's geography, economy, and ethnic composition. This is important for the contextualization of the study. We will see through out the course of the thesis that the South's conflict and secession are largely linked to Sudan's location, and multiethnic and multi-religious characters. The chapter then will turn to the colonial rulers who, through heightening the ethnic and religious divisions, planted the seeds of conflict in the pre-independence era.

Chapter two will give the chronological order of the first and second Sudanese civil wars. Through this, the chapter will reveal how the various Sudanese governments' domestic social, economic, and political policies influenced the civil wars and the demand for secession. The chapter will also address in detail the Addis Ababa and the Comprehensive Peace Agreements as they changed Khartoum's national policies drastically. Finally, the account of the civil wars provided in the chapter will illustrate how international and regional politics influenced Khartoum's domestic policies.

Subsequently, chapter three will proffer an in-depth analysis of the factors that led to secession. The chapter will draw on the thesis' analytical framework to identify and analyze the factors. These factors are the impact of the Northern Arabs' policies, the weakness of Sudan's democratic governments, the failure of the peace processes, the existence of historical grievances, and the role of international actors.

The conclusion offers a summary of the research's findings. It also points to the probability of future conflicts in both the South and the North due to regional inequality and one party dominance in each of the regions. Finally, it is also a recommendation to

Juba and Khartoum to draw lessons from past federal Sudanese models and to strive for a successful inclusive federal model. One that is characterized by balanced federal structure, a sound federal culture, and just federal politics.

Chapter One: Sudan - A Background Overview



The government of Sudan has been in continuous conflict with its Southern region for more than four decades. Prior to the independence of the country, in 1956, the South shared nothing with the North except for memories of slavery raids. The mutiny of the South thus began prior to the country's independence when the region refused to be governed by a small Arab elite stationed in Khartoum. The South engaged in two civil wars with the government. Both of the civil wars, the first (1955-1972) and the second (1983-2005), had a devastating impact on the people of the South.²³ The first war claimed the lives of half million people; and the second resulted in two million lives lost and displaced another four and half million, most of whom were Southerners.²⁴ This conflict would finally end in 2005 with signing of The Comprehensive Peace Agreement, which also resulted in the secession of the South.

In order to understand Sudan's secessionist South and to place the movement for secession in context, it is important to have an understanding of Sudanese history. This chapter will provide an overview of Sudan in the pre-secession period. First, the chapter will proffer an overview of Sudan's geography and its central location in the African continent. This is important because it is Sudan's location that defines its multi-ethnic and multi-religious character. Sudan's conflict, as will be seen, is largely understood in the context of identity. Second, the chapter will address Sudan's modest economy, an important aspect to the conflict in Sudan. Additionally, the demographics of Sudan and the country's ethnic composition will be discussed in the chapter. The demographics will illustrate the extent of regional alienation. Although, the majority of the Sudanese

²³ Luka Biong Deng, "The Challenge of Central, Ethnic, and Religious Diversity in Peace Building and Constitution Making in Post-Conflict Sudan," *Civil Wars* (2005): 262.

²⁴ Ibid.

population has resided in the Southern and Western regions, the power was concentrated in the hands of the few northerners. Lastly, the chapter will discuss the history of colonization and independence. Through this, the chapter aims to illustrate the impact of colonial legacy on Sudan's internal instability.

It is important to note that the following overview of Sudan is limited to the period before South Sudan's secession in July 2011. More specifically the description of Sudan is confined to the period between the country's independence in January 1956 and the South's secession in July 2011. Therefore, any mention that is made of South or North Sudan is made within the context of pre-secession Sudan.

Geography

Sudan, located in northeast Africa, was the largest country in Africa and the Arab world. It was also the tenth largest in the world with an area of 967,495 square miles (2,505,813 square km).²⁵ The former British colony gained its independence in 1956 with Khartoum as the capital. Nine African states bordered the country as can be seen from the map above, and these were: Egypt to the north; Eritrea and Ethiopia to the east; Kenya and Uganda to the southeast; the Democratic Republic of Congo and the Central African Republic to the southwest; and Chad and Libya to the west and northwest respectively.

As can be seen Sudan falls in the Arab-African belt. Egypt and Libya are two states that identify themselves as Arab first and African second, while the rest of the countries strictly define themselves as African. Also while in Egypt and Libya Islam is the dominant religion in the rest of the African states animism and Christianity are more

²⁵ "A World of Information: Sudan," UN Data, accessed Oct. 2010.

prominent.²⁶ The Arab-Islamic North Africa has had significant influence on the Sudanese population. In fact, Sudan and Egypt were under one governing structure between 1899 and 1956. The Sudanese population is thus divided between the Afro-Arab belt and all of Sudan's conflicts can be understood in context of identity along this belt.

In addition to being divided culturally, Sudan was also divided climatically. Sudan had two climatic regions: tropical in the South, and arid desert in the north with the exception of well-irrigated areas around The Nile River. The fertile land around The Nile River made agriculture feasible. Agricultural production has been the backbone of the economy. For example in 2010, the sector employed 80 percent of the 11.92 million workers in the country and generated 31 percent of the GDP.²⁷

Sudan has been known for its diverse agricultural products. Sesame along with cotton often constituted the main export products. The country has also produced large quantities of sorghum and wheat, both of which were mainly cultivated for domestic consumption. Additionally, Sudan has been known for its groundnuts, millet, Arabic gum, sugarcane, mangos, papayas and bananas. However, due to problems with transportation and irrigation, the country has not reached its full potential in the agricultural sector.²⁸ In addition to the agricultural exports, Sudan has exported livestock to surrounding countries in the Middle East and Africa.²⁹

In 2010, Industries employed 7 percent of the labour force and composed 34.7 percent of the national GDP, while services employed 13 percent of the labour force and

²⁶ With the exception of Chad whose more than half of its population adheres to the Islamic faith. However, African Islam and Arab Islam differ on many fronts.

²⁷ "Country at a Glance: Sudan," Focus: Africa, accessed Oct. 2010, http://focusafrica.gov.in/Country_at_glance_Sudan.html#2

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Ibid.

made up 34.3 percent of the GDP.³⁰ In 2010, the infant industries included oil, cotton ginning, textiles, cement, edible oils, sugar, soap distillation, shoes, petroleum refinement, pharmaceuticals, armaments and automobile-light truck assembly. Because Sudan's industrial sector is one of its weakest, the country imports most of its manufactured goods, refinery and transport equipment, medicines and chemicals, and textiles. In 2009, the country imported nearly 20 percent of its total import commodities from China, followed by a number of Arab countries and India.³¹ China has been Sudan's largest trade partner. In 2009, Sudan exported 65.3 percent of its export products to China, 10.5 percent to United Arab Emirates, and 5.5 percent to Indonesia.³² Sudan's exports included cotton, sesame, livestock, oil, and petroleum products.

Sudan was able to embark on the various light industries because of the profitable oil exports. The country began exporting crude oil in 1999 and recorded its first trade surplus in the same year. Increased oil production did not only allow the state to sustain light industries, but also to increase its exports and to become one of the fastest growing economies in the world as GDP growth registered more than 10 percent per year in 2006 and 2007.³³

However, despite the increasing oil revenue and GDP, many Sudanese have continued to live at or below poverty due to the country's long civil war, the Darfur conflict, its extremely poor infrastructure, and its heavy reliance on subsistence agriculture. At the turn of the new century, 40 percent of the population lived under the

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ "A World of Information: Sudan," UN Data, accessed Oct. 2010,

³² "Utl Sudan," Italian Development Cooperation: Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

³³ "CIA- The World Fact Book- Sudan," CIA World Fact Book (2008). 1-1.

poverty line and the unemployment rate was high at 18.7 percent. Infant mortality was also high at 82.43 per 1000 and life expectancy was only 51.42 years.³⁴

The above data illustrates the extent of Sudan's poverty. In fact in 2010 the United Nations Human Development report ranked Sudan the 16th poorest country in the world.³⁵ Poverty is more blatant in the regional areas of Sudan. This is one of the main reasons that contributed to the creation of regional dissatisfaction with Khartoum. Many of the regional areas had to fend for themselves, creating their own institutions that the centre failed to establish. Thus, many of the regional groups were alienated and did not see legitimacy in the centre. One way for expressing their frustration was through demanding secession.

Ethnic Composition

Table No. (1)

Regional population distribution and regional ranking by population size from 1973-1983-1993-2008 censuses³⁶

SUDAN Region	1993 (Rank) population (000), %	1983 (Rank) population (000), %	1973 (Rank) population (000), %
Northern Region	(7) 1293 (5.1)	(9) 1084 (5.3)	(7) 918 (6.5)
Khartoum	(3) 3512 (13.7)	(6) 1802 (8.7)	(6) 1096 (7.8)
Central region	(1) 5433 (21.2)	(1) 4022 (19.6)	(1) 3623 (25.7)
Eastern region	(5) 3067 (12.00)	(5) 2209 (10.7)	(4) 1497 (10.6)
Kordofan	(4) 3323 (13.0)	(3) 3091 (15.3)	(2) 2098 (14.9)
Darfur	(2) 4638 (18.1)	(2) 3112 (15.3)	(3) 2077 (4.7)
Bahr Alghazal	(6) 1913 (7.5)	(4) 2271 (11.0)	(5) 1322 (9.4)
Upper Nile	(8) 1258, (4.9)	(7) 1595 (7.7)	(8) 761 (5.4)
Equatoria	(9) 1150, (4.5)	(8) 1408 (6.8)	(9) 722 (5.1)

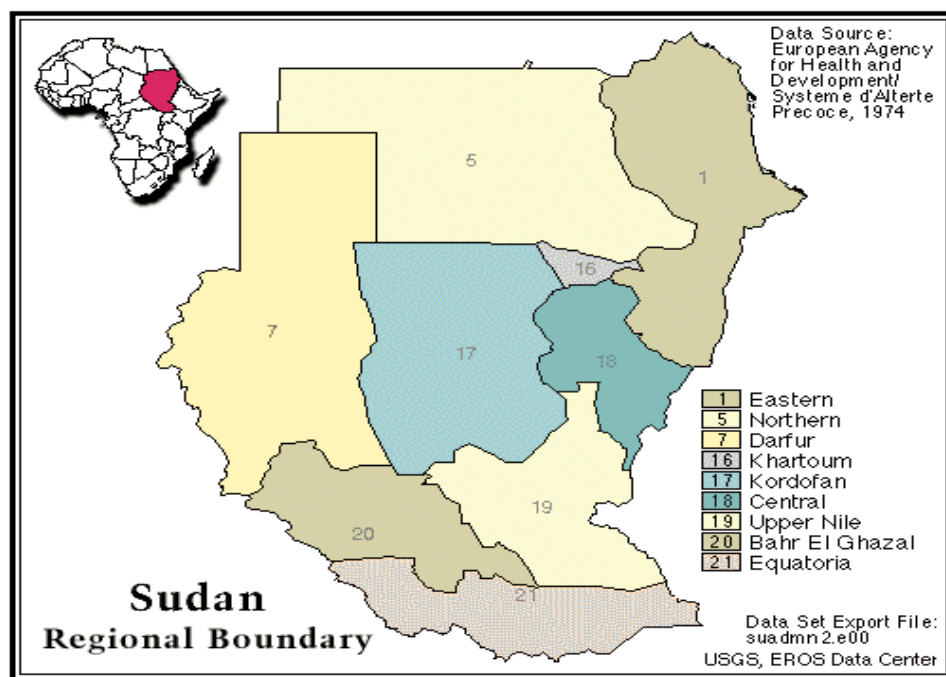
Source: central bureau of statistics
Analytical report, 1993

³⁴ "A World of Information: Sudan," UN Data, accessed Oct. 2010,
<http://data.un.org/CountryProfile.aspx?crName=SUDAN#Social>.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ "Regional population distribution and regional ranking by population size from 1973-1983-1993-2008 censuses," Central bureau of Statistics: Analytical Report (1993), accessed Feb.2010,
<http://www.cbs.gov.sd/>

As of 2010, the population of Sudan slightly surpassed the 41 million with a population growth rate of 2.143. Approximately, 43 percent of the population resided in urban areas such as the capital Khartoum.³⁷ This figure has been steadily swelling due to the rising regional conflicts that forced people to abandon their lands and move into the cities. The accretion was estimated to be 4.3 percent from 2005 to 2010.³⁸ This could be seen through the steady increase of residents in the Khartoum region in table 1.



The Sudanese population has not been evenly distributed among the nine primary regions in Sudan shown in the image above. The three regions, Upper Nile, Bahr al Ghazal, and Equatoria formed the South. Its population in 1973 stood at 19.9 percent of the total Sudanese population; in 1983 it was 25.5; and in 1993 it was 19.9. The Central region in the east, the South, and Darfur in the west were the most populated regions in

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ "Uti Sudan," Italian Development Cooperation: Ministry of Foreign Affairs, accessed February 2011, <http://www.sudan.cooperazione.esteri.it/utlsudan/EN/country/intro.html>.

the past decades. In terms of population, Khartoum ranked the 6th in 1973, but followed with a rise to the third place in 1993. The rank has not changed since then.³⁹

Cont. Table No. (2) تابع جدول رقم

Region	2008			الإقليم
	المرتبة Rank	السكان (بالآلاف) Population (000)	النسبة المئوية %	
Sudan	-	39154	100	السودان
Northern Region	(9)	1820	4.6	الإقليم الشمالي
Khartoum	(3)	5274	13.5	الخرطوم
Central Region	(2)	7423	19.0	الإقليم الأوسط
Eastern Region	(4)	4534	11.6	الإقليم الشرقي
Kordofan	(5)	4327	11.1	كردفان
Darfur	(1)	7515	19.2	دارفور
Bahr Elghazal	(7)	2723	7.0	بحر الغزال
Upper Nile	(6)	2909	7.4	أعالي النيل
Equatoria	(8)	2629	6.7	الاستوائية

Pop.Census 2008

تعداد السكان ٢٠٠٨

According to the 2008 statistics as seen in table 2, Darfur in the west was the most populous with 19.2 percent of the population, while the Central region in eastern Sudan ranked second with 19 percent. However, when the three Southern regions are combined they come in the first place with 21.8 percent. The Northern region has often been the least populated, and its population has been decreasing steadily. It constituted 6.5 percent of the population in 1973 and 4.6 percent of the population in 2008.

It is clear from the above data that the Northern region and Khartoum combined have never constituted more than one fifth of the total Sudanese population.⁴⁰ However as

³⁹ "Sudan in Figures: 2005-2009," Ministry of The Cabinet: Central Bureau of Statistics, accessed Dec. 2010, <http://www.cbs.gov.sd/>

⁴⁰ Ibid.

will be seen in the subsequent chapter, political power was concentrated in the hands of the few northerners. This political dominance caused considerable resentment in the regional areas, particularly in the South and West. It also led the South, west, and east to carry armed conflict against the government demanding either equitable political, socio-economic share or full-fledged secession.⁴¹

However, to understand Sudan's civil conflicts one also needs to take account its complex ethnic makeup. Sudan has been an atypically diverse country. According to one account, Sudan housed about 19 main nationalities, 56 ethnic groups, and about 597 sub-ethnic groups who speak more than 115 languages.⁴² Natural and man-made disasters, such as food paucity and civil war, have changed the demographic aggregates. However, these changes have not influenced the massive ethno-national diversity.⁴³

In 2010, the largest ethnic category, nearly 40 percent, comprised those considering themselves Arab.⁴⁴ However, the 40 percent is not a homogenous group. This is due to regional and tribal loyalties and affiliations.⁴⁵ The major non-Arab Muslim groups are the Nubians in the far north, the nomadic Beja in the northeast, and the Fur in the west. Southern groups are non-Arab and they include the Dinka, Nuer, and other smaller Nilotic groups. In 2010, the Dinka composed more than 10 percent of the total Sudanese population and 40 percent of the South's, ranging from 1.5 million to 2.5 million people. The Nuer has been the second largest group in the South, although this is

⁴¹ "Utl Sudan," Italian Development Cooperation: Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

⁴² Deng, 261.

⁴³ Atta El-Battahani, "Sudan Votes: The 2010 Elections and Prospects for Democratic Transformation," *Heinrich Boll Stiftung* (2010) 18: 32.

⁴⁴ "Utl Sudan," Italian Development Cooperation: Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

⁴⁵ Idriss Salim El Hassan, "The Comprehensive Peace Agreement and Cultural Diversity in the Sudan," *Sudanese Journal for Human Rights Culture and Issues of Cultural Diversity* (2009), 5.

debatable as some argue that the Nuer's population has been equal to or higher than the Dinka's.⁴⁶

For most of Sudan's post independence period Arabic and English had been recognized as the two official languages of the country with Arabic widely used in the North and English in the South (however, indigenous languages were used more widely in the South than English). In particular, more than 50 percent of the populations spoke the Arabic language, about 18 percent spoke Nilotic languages, and Nilo-Hamitic was spoken by about 12 percent of the population.⁴⁷ Religious diversity has also been a feature of the Sudanese society. In 2010, the majority of the population adhered to the Islamic faith. Muslims made up 70 percent of the population while indigenous belief followers constituted 25 percent and Christians constituted only 5 percent.⁴⁸

However, the belief that religion is defined across ethnic lines (as in Arab-Muslims and non-Arab-non-Muslim) is not true. With about 70 percent Sudanese Muslims, Sudan has been home to a large non-Arab Muslim population. Most of the non-Arab Muslims are black Africans living in the western region of the country. Also, the belief that South Sudan is a Christian entity is a misconception; the majority of Southern Sudanese adhere to indigenous belief and Christian and Muslim Southerners are only a minority.⁴⁹ A state official is documented stating that Christians only made up 18 percent of the South's population.⁵⁰

A large number of refugees from surrounding countries added to the diversity.

⁴⁶ "A World of Information: Sudan," UN Data.

⁴⁷ Jessica Hartog, "Political Transition in the Sudan: The Role of Political Actors," *Belgium: Institute of Development Policy and Management*, (2007), 8.

⁴⁸ "Uti Sudan," Italian Development Cooperation: Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

⁴⁹ Ibid, 8.

⁵⁰ Author Interview, Confidential Interview, Khartoum, July 2011.

There have been more than two million refugees living in Sudan. These refugees have come from neighbouring countries like Eritrea, Chad, Ethiopia, Uganda and Central African Republic. Furthermore, there has been more than half a million Egyptians and tens of thousands of other Arabs and Africans who have moved to Sudan seeking better economic opportunities, or have been in Sudan since pre-independence.⁵¹

This religious, linguistic, and ethnic diversity in the modern context of state raised many questions around the concept of citizenship. How to accommodate this ineffable diversity while building a nation-state simultaneously, and how to define the Sudanese citizenship and on which bases were some of the questions that the ruling elite encountered. The manner in which Khartoum addressed these questions is what in essence gave birth to the secessionist voice. As will be seen through the course of the thesis, Khartoum preferred to promote one identity, the Arab, rendering the rest invisible.

History: Colonization and Independence

To a great extent, Khartoum has failed to develop crosscutting values or build a shared sense of identity among the Sudanese people. This failure contributed to the alienation of regional groups in Sudan, particularly the Southern Sudanese. Nevertheless, many scholars argue that the Sudanese government was unable to develop a Sudanese identity because it was unable to undo decades of separation policies initiated by the colonizers. One cannot ignore the enormous impact of colonial rule (1898-1956) on impairing Sudan's national culture. Ethnic manipulation was a central component of the

⁵¹ El-Battahani, 35.

British agenda as the colonial power sought to control fractious groups. In fact, it was the colonial period that gave rise to modern ethnic politicization.⁵²

Prior to colonization different ethnic groups, including the Arabs and non-Arabs, intermingled, intermarried, and integrated. The colonial divide and rule strategy alienated some of the ethnic groups from one another by law preventing understanding and cooperation. Cotran wrote in 1955 that the imperial agenda “[...] prevented the Sudanese from knowing each other, feeling with each other, working with each other and learning from each other.”⁵³

The constructed barriers were blatant when the colonizers enacted the law of sealed or closed regions. Under this law, certain areas were sealed off one another, particularly the North from the South. Each region was compelled into using its own distinct language with harsh penalties facing those who did not. In describing the strictness of some of these policies a state minister said, “if you were from the north you needed a visa (from the British authorities) to go to the South during colonial rule.”⁵⁴ Through this rigid partition, the colonizers detached Southerners from the Arabic language and culture and prevented the flow of a common culture up the Nile River valley.

When the British anticipated the end of colonial rule in 1947, the South was reunited with the North forming modern Sudan.⁵⁵ This unification was the outcome of an Anglo-Egyptian agreement. The agreement entailed that the British would maintain their control over the Suez Canal and in exchange Egypt would annex all of united Sudan as

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Hartog, 10.

⁵⁴ Author Interview, Confidential Interview, Khartoum, July 2011.

⁵⁵ Rogier, 7-8.

opposed to only the North. However, the Arab North refused to join Egypt later on. Gerard Prunier, a French historian, argued that Sudan was “created in error” as the current borders do not justify its obvious cultural and ethnic distinctions.⁵⁶ Colonial rule also favoured some groups over others creating hubris on one side and deep resentments on the other.

The North- South Conflict

The British negotiated the independence of Sudan with only Northern ‘Arab’ national movements. This is because the Northern Arabs were the best organized. As early as the 1930’s, they mobilized the national movements and instigated the independence discourse.⁵⁷ The Southerners and other eastern and western Sudanese were excluded from the process ‘by choice and necessity’ as they lacked political organization.⁵⁸ Shortly before independence, the British transferred all of their powers, including the political and economic, to the Northern Arabs.

The southerners, alarmed by the Arab-British negotiations, held a conference in Juba to voice their concerns about their future status. In the Juba conference in 1947, the South publicly rejected unity with Khartoum but found itself with no choice as the British had already decided on the matter. The southerners followed by holding another conference in 1954 in Juba to state their stipulations about their relations with Khartoum. The Southern leaders decided that they should either be given an autonomous status under a federal model, or that they should exercise the right to self-determination for

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ Sharkey, 31.

⁵⁸ Rogier, 9.

complete independence from the North.⁵⁹ The Southerners were assured that their demands would be addressed.

However, the Southerners were wary of the promises they were given concerning their autonomy because the Northerners started to infiltrate the South to replace British officials as administrators, teachers, and senior officers in the army and police force. For them, the Arabs were another group of colonizers. The core of the southerners' demands was that they would be in charge of their own affairs, but the advent of the Arabs threatened their vision of an autonomous South.

In August 1955 Southern soldiers, who were now under Arab officers, mutinied as they feared they would be disarmed and moved to the North. These soldiers would flee to the bushes and to neighbouring Uganda and form the core of the Anyanya, the first Southern guerrilla movement, named after a type of Southern poison. The British were anxious to withdraw and thus refused to send troops to control the mutiny. On January 1st 1956, Britain granted Sudan independence.⁶⁰ Khartoum was left to control the mutiny on its own and to address pressing constitutional matters.

The new constitution was hurriedly drafted leaving urgent issues unresolved. Sudan encountered three major constitutional dilemmas at the time of independence. The first dilemma involved the constitutional status of Sudan itself and whether Sudan desired to remain connected to Egypt. The second matter was the uncertainty about the constitutional status of Southern Sudan. (The leaders did not know how to deal with the South since it had its own administrative structures in the colonial period). The third

⁵⁹ Ibid, 10

⁶⁰ Rogier, 12.

concerned the structuring of state institutions.⁶¹ The first challenge eclipsed the gravity of the other two and as Atta Al Battahani explained, “the main task (for Khartoum) was to decide on the future constitutional status of Sudan, and to prepare the country and its people for independence during a three-year transitional period.”⁶² Two major issues were left unresolved in the constitution. First, the religious nature of the state was not addressed (secular or Islamic); and second, the constitution did not clarify the distribution of power between the different regions and levels of government (federal model).⁶³ The infiltration of the Northerners to the South and the rejection of the implementation of a decentralized model of governance would give rise to the first Sudanese civil war.

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² El-Battahani, 31.

⁶³ Ibid, 35.

Chapter Two:

The First and Second Sudanese Civil Wars

Sudan's various governments laid down the foundation for the South's secession. Through giving the chronological order of the Sudanese civil wars, this chapter will begin by illustrating how the different government's domestic policies (social, political and economic) facilitated secession. Each of the consecutive governments proposed a set of policies in which the South responded to accordingly. Secondly, also through the narrative of the civil wars, this chapter will illustrate how the two prominent peace agreements came into play, the Addis Ababa, and the Comprehensive Peace Agreement, and how they ended. Thirdly, the chapter will reveal the influence of the dynamic international and regional politics on Sudan's civil wars. Both civil wars, having lasted 40 years, occurred simultaneously with the Cold War, the 'undeclared' regional war, and the recent War on Terror.

Table No. (3)
Summary of the Sudanese Regimes ⁶⁴

	Build-up Period	Catalyst for change	Issues	Major Actors	Tools and means
1953-58 1st Democratic period	Relatively long from 1948-53	1953 self-rule Agreement	Independence	Britain, Egypt, Northern parties	Negotiations
1958-64 Military Regime	Long period	Military coup	Islamization and Arabization	Anyanya I	War
1964-69 Transitional period and 2nd Democratic period	Short period	Student demonstrations	Islamization and Arabization	Anyanya I	War
1969-1985 Military Regime- 71 and one party state-85	Long period	Military Coup	North-South Addis Ababa peace agreement	Anyanya I and Nueri government	Negotiations and mediation
1986-1989 3rd Democratic Period	Short period	Urban unrest and labour union strikes	Economy and North-South Issue	Mahdi gov't & SPLM	Negotiations and war
1989-1999 Military regime, One Party state	Long period	Military coup	Islamization and Arabization	SPLM and Bashir gov't	War

⁶⁴ El-Battahani, 35.

The First Civil War

The Sudanese civil wars were a direct result of the discontent with Khartoum's domestic (social, economic, and political) policies. Between Sudan's independence in 1956 and 1958, Khartoum was led by a weak coalition government that among many things had failed to contain the South's rebellion. In 1958, General Abboud led a military coup and overthrew this newly born and fragile civilian government.

The military regime (1958-64) laid down the foundations for a centralized economic development plan. The regime also endorsed an independent foreign policy, where the government cooperated with both Eastern and Western blocs.⁶⁵ Abboud did not only lead a centralized economic plan, but also a centralized form of governance. As he was an authoritarian leader he severely limited political participation, and enforced rigid social and economic policies. Arabization and Islamization formed the core of his regime's social policies. His policies were repressive to churches and political organizations and resulted in increasing the opposition in the North, as the northern secularists and leftists condemned them, and inflamed the Southern war.

One of the reasons that led to the intensification of the war was the soaring strength of the Anyanya; the movement that started the rebellion in 1955. The movement was receiving support from the Ugandan and Israeli governments.⁶⁶ While the Ugandan government provided the movement with room for operation and training, the Israeli government provided military training, equipment and other forms of assistance. Additionally, the movement gained popular support and increased its followers. In the 1960s, students and political leaders joined the rebels in Uganda to form the Sudan

⁶⁵ Ibid, 33.

⁶⁶ Rogier, 60.

African Nationalist Union (SANU), with Anyanya as the militant element. SANU's core objective was the self-determination of the South.⁶⁷

In trying to suppress the Anyanya, Abboud wasted significant portions of Sudan's revenues. Therefore, frustrations with the General's government were growing among trade unions, urban classes and political and religious groups.⁶⁸ Communists and radical leftists created the United National Front (UNF). With aid from trade unions and students, the UNF led a successful protest that was supported by lower ranks of the army and ultimately toppled the military regime on October 24, 1964.⁶⁹ Other elements of society were unsatisfied with the ascendancy of communists and radical forces. The conservative political faction initiated a new movement where they mobilized rural-based religious groups. The movement inundated and defeated the leftists. Elections were held in 1964 and the Umma and the Democratic Unionist Party (DUP) won creating a democratic coalition government.⁷⁰

The new civilian government introduced a new set of political policies and the South responded positively to them. The new democratic government allowed a political opening and the Southerners were welcomed to join Sudan's political process. A new Southern political party, the Southern Front, was established in Khartoum. The leader of the party (Clement Mboro) was also the Minister of Interior in the democratic government. All exiled Southerners were also invited to participate in round table discussion on solving the problem in the South.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ El-Battahani 34.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ Abdel Salam Sidahmed, "Institutional Reform and Political Party Engagement: Challenges to Democratic Transformation in post-CPA Sudan," *International Journal of African Renaissance Studies* (2010) 5: 21.

However, the Southerners found themselves divided. The southerners were divided into two camps, SANU inside (those in Sudan) and SANU outside (those out of Sudan). The Southerners belonging to SANU inside abandoned self-determination and thought a federal solution would suffice while those involved with SANU outside insisted on secession. This led to serious internal unrest as Anyanya fragmented, SANU's military arm. Soon after, Anyanya's fractions started to fight each other. Attempts for reconciliations followed and in a conference held in 1965 both sides decided to hold a referendum as means to let the people of the South decide. However, many of the Northern representatives rejected any kind of self-determination since elections were around the corner. Election time came with a growing discourse around an Arab-Islamic agenda for votes.⁷¹ This discourse angered the southerners and the war recommenced. The war intensified and internationalized with the joining of Israel, Ethiopia and Uganda to support Anyanya. Simultaneously, the Arab countries supported Khartoum.

Generally, the second democratic government's new social and political policies were seen to be disingenuous and ineffective. Although the government's leaders promised political opening they were not willing to negotiate any forms of power sharing with the South. Socially, they were inclined to the Arabization and Islamization policies and even contemplated implementing the Islamic constitutional law. Discontent with the government was on the rise for wasting public resources and continuing to refuse all proposals to solve the Southern problem. Claims of corruption and resource abuse exacerbated the public's frustrations. As a result, leftist elements in the armed forces led by Jaafar Numeri took over the government in a bloodless coup in 1969.⁷²

⁷¹ Rogier, 11.

⁷² El-Battahani, 37.

Jaafar Numeri's communist and socialist ideologies required of him to introduce an entirely different domestic agenda. His social policies excluded previous Islamization and Arabization because as a communist he was opposed Islamic rule. Although he led a dictatorial regime, Numeri frequently spoke of an autonomous South. Therefore, his dialogue with the Anyanya was promising.

His socialist rhetoric allowed him to muster Soviet support. However, some communists were not satisfied with Numeri's socialist policies because they claimed the policies were diluted. They tried to oust him in an unsuccessful coup and Numeri responded by carrying a complete purge of communists. Numeri's measures towards the communists in Sudan distanced him from the Soviet Union, costing him a principal source of support. He found himself destitute of all support from the right and left and was forced to look for allies elsewhere. He turned to the South hoping that peace with the South would increase his legitimacy.⁷³

Additionally, various international factors brought both Anyanya and Numeri to the negotiating table. Numeri began to soothe regional tensions by attempting to improve relations with neighbouring countries. In 1971, he signed an agreement with Ethiopia and Uganda that entailed the discontinuation of rebel support in the region. Uganda responded by expelling the Israelis and this had a devastating impact on Anyanya as it could not sustain itself. The movement was then forced to the negotiation table.⁷⁴

Therefore it was both of Numeri's national policies and the international (regional and Soviet) stance that led to the negotiations. These negotiations led to The Addis Ababa

⁷³ Rogier, 12. (This is a fundamental principle of Sudanese politics that Northerners (as well as Southerners) seek allies from 'the other side' to fight their own-brother enemies – hence the formation of 'cross border alliances'.)

⁷⁴ Ibid, 23.

Agreement, which was ratified in March 1972 and later incorporated into the country's constitution in 1973. The Agreement established a new set of political, social, and economic policies, and the South responded to this agreement by incorporating Anyanya, its militant wing, into the Sudanese national army.

Politically, the Addis Ababa Agreement allowed for extensive power sharing. It guaranteed Southern representation in the national government.⁷⁵ It also ensured the autonomy of South, which consisted of the three provinces of Equatoria, Bahr Al Ghazal and Upper Nile. All the provinces had one regional president.⁷⁶ The National President on the approval of an elected Southern Regional Assembly selected the Regional President. The Agreement further dictated that a High Executive Council or Cabinet, appointed by the Regional President, would be responsible for all governing aspects in the South with the exception of defence, foreign affairs, currency, finance, economic and social planning and interregional concerns. Authority over these sectors would belong to the national government.

The Agreement's social provisions were equally far-reaching. The Agreement acknowledged Arabic as Sudan's official language and English as the South's principal administrative and didactic language.⁷⁷ In addition to giving the Southern states a regional government, the Agreement guaranteed freedom of religion, personal liberty and equality of citizens.

Several Northern Islamist parties felt that the Agreement had compromised Sudan's Islamic nature and claimed that it fostered separatism in the South. These parties

⁷⁵ However, the representation in the National Assembly still did not reflect the proportional regional populations. In general, the Addis Ababa Accord focused more on the Southern Regional Government and less on national transfiguration.

⁷⁶ Author Interview, Confidential Interview, Khartoum, August 2011.

⁷⁷ David E Anderson, "Misgivings about Sudan Peace Accord," *Christian Century*, (2005): 16.

did not ratify The Addis Ababa Agreement and some campaigned against it. Soon, Numeri found himself threatened by sectarian political parties and Islamists. He led (*muassala al-wataniya*) the national reconciliation with all religious oppositions. Furthermore, he granted some of the religious leaders prominent positions in the government and appointed some as advisors. The new regime members started to influence Numeri's domestic policies.

Turabi, a key figure in the Muslim Brotherhood in Sudan, had a significant influence on Numeri. Turabi, an attorney general at the time, proposed a bill that redrew the boundaries of the Southern region to strategically place the newly discovered oil fields in the North. Key resources in the South, such as oil and minerals, were discovered in the late 1970s. Numeri initially rejected the proposition and reaffirmed the borders agreed upon in The Addis Ababa Agreement.⁷⁸ However, soon after (in 1980), he proposed a plan similar to Turabi's to the Southern Regional Assembly. In 1981, the Assembly rejected his proposal and Numeri responded by dissolving the body. In 1983 he created a new state in the South called "Unity" and divided the Southern region into three smaller ones with much less authority and power over economic matters.⁷⁹

The Addis Ababa Agreement stated that no changes were to be made to the South's governing structure except with a Southern referendum. Therefore, Numeri's unilateral action contravened the Agreement and ended its political, social, and economic

⁷⁸ There are two explanations for Numeri's action. The first is attempting to take the oilfields unrightfully from the Southern region. The second is the pressure placed on Numeri by other Southern tribes. The Dinka controlled the governance as they were the more educated and the majority. Therefore the Dinka controlled their region in addition to other tribes' regions (the Nuer and Shiluk). The other tribes put pressure on Numeri to redraw borders and divide the one region into three.

⁷⁹ Rogier, 27.

policies. This outraged the South who decided to go back to war and created another rebel group in the same year, the SPLA, Sudan People's Liberation Army.⁸⁰

What heightened the tensions was Numei's decision to establish the Shariah decree as the official law of the country. Through this Numei was imitating the earlier policies of Islamization and Arabization. However, many scholars argue that the implementation of Shariah law in 1983 was the principal factor that instigated the second civil war and this is not accurate. Although the implementation of Shariah law in 1983 intensified the dispute around identity, it is understood to not be the prime reason for the war. This is evident by the beginning of the war in January 1983, nine months before the Shariah decree was announced in September 1983.

The Second Civil War

There are few differences between the first and second civil wars. Firstly, while the first civil war was fought exclusively over autonomy, the discovery of oil in the late 1970s in the South added a resource factor to the second. In turn, the conflict intensified as neither side wanted to lose the resource to the other. Additionally, while the conflict in the first war was limited to the north and South, in the second, conflicts multiplied beyond as rebel movements were growing in the east, west and north.⁸¹ Finally, while the southerners in the first civil war fought for the South's autonomy, in the second the South's leaders claimed an ideological affiliation to free the entire Sudan, and thus their name 'Sudan People's Liberation Army'.

⁸⁰ Author Interview, Confidential Interview, Khartoum, August 2011.

⁸¹ Ibid.

The SPLA presented itself as a socialist movement that did not only intend to ‘liberate’ the Southerners but also all of Sudan. Dinka officer Dr. John Garang introduced the ideological facet to the SPLA. Garang, once an officer in the National Army, left Khartoum to join the rebellion. Considered a visionary, he founded the mission of the SPLA and created its political wing, the Sudan People’s Liberation Movement (SPLM).⁸² He also presented a detailed account for a new Sudan in his manifesto.

Garang proposed that the ‘New Sudan’ must first be built on secularism and second on African citizenship.⁸³ The ‘New Sudan’ would reflect the diverse populations and ensure economic, social and political equality between the citizens. The predominant understanding in the movement was that Sudan’s problem is not ‘the South’ but the highly unrepresentative centre. Emeric Rogier suggested that, “unity, secularism and socialism were seen as inseparable objectives, since secularism would guarantee respect for differences and socialism would ensure reduction of inequalities in a common framework.”⁸⁴ Thus, the SPLM/A did not follow the same objectives of Anyanya as separatism was not on its agenda.⁸⁵

In the South Anyanya II, formed by veterans of the first Anyanya, opposed the SPLM/A vision. They continued to follow a separatist agenda where nothing less than independence would be acceptable. Whereas both movements initially had Dinka and Nuer, soon the SPLM/A became Dinka dominated and Anyanya Nuer dominated. This division introduced an ethnic dimension to the rivalry that only ended when Ethiopia

⁸² Marina Peter, “Blue Nile, Nuba Mountains and Abeyi: Three Areas of Transition,” *Heinrich Boll Stiftung* (2010), 66.

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ Rogier, 29.

⁸⁵ Hutchinson, 308.

began supporting Garang's non-separatist faction.⁸⁶ Anyanya II would dissolve with most of its troops joining the SPLM/A by 1988.

While the southerners, Anyanya II and SPLM, were coming to an agreement over the leadership of Garang in Juba, in Khartoum protestors filled the streets to remove the country's leadership. In 1985, a broad-based popular movement ousted Numeiri. General elections were held in 1986 from which Umma, the Democratic Unionist Party and the National Islamic Front (NIF) formed a coalition government. The second civil war began in 1983 but even the overthrow of the Numeiri regime and the rise of the new democratically elected government could not end it.

The newly elected Prime Minister, Saddiq Al-Mahdi, and the SPLM/A leader John Garang had conflicting views when it came to the social domestic policies. Ethiopia, as an important regional player, attempted to broker an agreement between the parties. A resolution seemed probable when Mengistu, the Ethiopian president at the time, contrived a meeting between Al-Mahdi and Garang in Addis Ababa on July 31, 1986.⁸⁷ The meeting was held but the issue of Islamic law inhibited progress. Garang demanded that the government repeal the Islamic decrees of 1983. Although Al-Mahdi said that he would abrogate the decrees, he maintained that new Islamic laws would be decreed in Muslim-dominated regions where the rights of non-Muslims would be taken into consideration.⁸⁸ Garang refused and contended that any religion-based structure was unacceptable since it would allow religious discrimination and inequality. As Ann

⁸⁶ Ethiopia at the time was fighting its own separatist movement, the Eritrean nationalists, and did not want to support other separatist agendas.

⁸⁷ Ann Mosely Lesch, "Behind Sudan's Secession," *Council of Foreign Relations: Foreign Affairs* (1987), 6.

⁸⁸ Ibid.

Mosely Lesch suggested, “A profound philosophical gap was evident”⁸⁹ between the western educated academics.

Again, as in previous governments, the failure to reach an agreement on social national policies led to the militant escalation of the war with benefits mainly for the SPLM/A. A state official suggested, “The rebellion was severe and was gaining tremendous strength.”⁹⁰ The incorporation of Anyanya II along with support provided by external elements (Ethiopia, Eritrea, Uganda and Cuba) enabled the movement to gain control over two thirds of the South including Torit, Bor and Nasir (the three provincial capitals of the South).⁹¹

Under pressure from the army and the public, Al-Mahdi started to move towards a peace settlement. In May 1989, a ceasefire was announced for one month and the state of emergency was revoked. The following month, June 1989, Khartoum agreed to hold to abeyance the implementation of the Islamic laws and cancel all military pacts with Egypt and Libya. The National Islamic Front (NIF) left the government instantly after the peace initiatives and on June 30 1989, three days before negotiations were to start in Addis Ababa, Omar Al-Bashir led a military coup and installed the NIF in power.⁹²

Leading to the CPA

The new Islamist government led drastic political and social changes and this intensified the conflict with the South to an unprecedented level. First, the new government declared its commitment to new radical Islamist tenets such as Jihad.

⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁹⁰ Author Interview, Confidential Interview, Khartoum, August 2011.

⁹¹ Ibid.

⁹² Rogier, 21.

Second, it established new jihadist institutions such as training and educational camps. The institutions' task was to provide support to jihadists groups fighting in the South. As one state official said: "These jihadist groups would penetrate the South followed and backed by the Sudanese Armed Forces (SAF)."⁹³ Al-Bashir did not initiate any negotiations; he instead led the war to its apex launching the most aggressive attacks on the South.

After ratifying a 'constitutional decree' that dismissed Al-Mahdi government and other state bodies, Al-Bashir appointed himself as the Chairman of the Revolutionary Command Council for National Salvation (RCCNS), a 15-member body with all executive and legislative powers.⁹⁴ Al-Bashir also issued other decrees that suspended political parties and trade unions. He imposed a state of emergency that prohibited demonstrations, opposition newspapers, and allowed the regime to imprison journalists and political activists. In 1996, Human Rights Watch stated that, "secret detention houses, known as 'ghost houses', were established where leaders of trade unions and student unions were tortured in order to break any resistance."⁹⁵

Nearly a year after the coup, Al-Bashir declared that an attempt to overthrow his government was made and in response the regime executed 31 army and police officers.⁹⁶ Many believe that this was a pretext for removing un-cooperative officers.⁹⁷ Al-Bashir stated that the RCCNS would lead the country in the transitional period, and in 1993 he dissolved the body and announced a return to civilian rule. Simultaneously, he declared

⁹³ Author Interview, Confidential Interview, Khartoum, August 2011.

⁹⁴ "Government and Politics of Sudan," Somali Press, accessed Sept. 2011, <http://www.somalipress.com/sudan-overview/government-and-politics-sudan-1146.html>

⁹⁵ Human Rights Watch, "Behind the Red Line: Political Repression in Sudan," UNHCR, 1996, accessed Feb. 2011, <http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/country,,HRW,,SDN,,3ae6a8450,0.html>

⁹⁶ "Profile: Sudan's President Bashir," BBC 2003, accessed Apr. 2011., <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/3273569.stm>

⁹⁷ Ibid.

himself the president of the country holding all executive and legislative powers. By this point, Sudan had effectively become an Islamist totalitarian state.

The Islamist nature of the country was promoted by Hassan Al-Turabi, a long-established Islamist politician, who had significant influence on Al-Bashir. He was the mastermind behind many of Al-Bashir's policies in the early years. In March 1991 Al-Turabi convinced Al-Bashir to establish the Criminal Act law. The Act introduced Shariah in all provinces, except in the South. Al-Turabi also pressured Al-Bashir into political opening and elections. In 1996, non-party elections were held and Al-Bashir was the only presidential candidate. Al-Bashir won with 75.7 percent of the votes. In 1999, political parties were allowed back into the political arena. It was then that Al-Bashir and Dr. Turabi created the National Congress Party (NCP).⁹⁸

Al-Turabi was also behind the new policies towards the South. Apropos the South, Al-Bashir and Al-Turabi declared that it was a religious duty to fight and protect the Islamic nature of the country. The new jihadists and the army inflicted significant losses on the SPLA. This weakened the rebellion. Al-Bashir also manipulated and exploited the South-South conflict.

During the early 1990's, the South was witnessing its worst episodes of its own civil war as the SPLA/M fractured over power disputes. In 1996, the Sudanese government ratified a peace agreement with rebel ethnic-based factions that had dissolved away from the SPLA/M. John Garang, the leader of the SPLA/M, rejected the agreement. Undaunted, President Al-Bashir ensconced one of the leaders of the ethnic-based factions

⁹⁸ Ibid.

as the head of an interim government in the South.⁹⁹ At this point, the strength of both Khartoum and SPLA was equivalent.

However, by the late 1990s, the SPLM/A was gaining more strength particularly as it was receiving support and cooperating with other regional rebel movements. In the late 1990s and early 2000s, the civil war, once confined to the South, stretched to the northeast near the Eritrean border. Various regional rebels, such as the Eastern Front and the Justice and Equality Movement, cooperated to place pressure on Khartoum. The government forces found themselves facing the SPLA/M along with six other opposition armies all united under a single commander.¹⁰⁰ As a result of the organized rebellion, neighbouring countries feared the development of grave instability in the region and pushed for conflict resolution measures.¹⁰¹ As Jeffery Haynes described “the threat of a wider conflict, amounting to a struggle for the whole of Sudan's identity—either strictly Arab-Islamic, or secular and multiethnic—prompted peace initiatives from Libya and Egypt, and from Africa's Intergovernmental Authority for Development (IGAD).”¹⁰²

Regional peace efforts were accompanied by international ones led by the U.S. In November 2002, an American peace envoy, John Danforth, visited Sudan for the first time to resolve the conflict between the Sudanese government and the rebels. He introduced confidence-building measures and mediated a ceasefire. Later on he stated that years of reciprocal mistrust made reconciliation difficult.¹⁰³

⁹⁹ Jeffrey Haynes, “Religion, Ethnicity and Civil War in Africa: The Cases of Uganda and Sudan,” *The Round Table* 96, no 380 (2007), 316.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

¹⁰² Ibid, 315.

¹⁰³ Ibid.

Despite the ceasefire the SPLA/M declared responsibility for killing government soldiers in an oil-rich area claiming that the Khartoum government had initially unleashed a massive assault against some of their bases in defiance of the ceasefire. As usual, the parties swerved back and forth between peace and war. Finally, in January 2004, after 15 months of extensive negotiations, Sudan's government and SPLA/M ratified an agreement to share the mounting prosperity of oil exports. Jeffery Haynes stated, “this looked as though it might mark the end to one of Africa's longest civil wars of modern times,”¹⁰⁴ and it did. The Comprehensive Peace Agreement, a compilation of a series of peace agreements, was signed in 2005 to conclude the peace between the North and South. Four main events lead to the CPA: six years of intense fighting (1992-1997), important oil discoveries and developments (1997-1999), military stalemate interrupted by frequent skirmishes (1998-2000s), and a series of negotiations that laid the groundwork for the CPA in 2005.¹⁰⁵

Two parties - the SPLA/M and the Government of Sudan – were the principal actors in negotiating and ratifying the CPA. At the time of the negotiations, the National Congress Party (NCP), led by Omar Hassan Al-Bashir, essentially dominated the government of Sudan. According to the 2000 National Assembly Elections, the NCP acquired 355 out of 360 seats (98 percent), leaving 5 seats for independents as seen in table 5. Table 4 shows that Omar Hassan Al-Bashir won the presidential elections with 86.5 percent of the votes.¹⁰⁶ The 2000 election failed to meet the international standards

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

¹⁰⁶ “Sudan,” African Election Databases, accessed Oct. 2010, <http://africanelections.tripod.com/sd.html>

of transparency and fairness.¹⁰⁷ In fact, the elections were boycotted by most of the major opposition parties. Therefore, the ‘NCP’ and the ‘Government of Sudan’ denoted the same entities, and as such the terms could be used interchangeably.

Table No. (4)

13-23 December 2000 Presidential Election*/**

Registered Voters 12,000,000 (approx.)

Total Votes (Voter Turnout) Not Available

Candidate Party	% Of Votes
Omar Hassan Al-Bashir (NCP)	86.5%
Jaafar Numeri (APWF)	9.6%
Malik Hussain	1.6%
Al-Samuel Hussein Osman Mansour (LD)	1.3%
Mahmoud Ahmed Juna	1.0%

*The election was boycotted by most of the major opposition parties.

**Voting did not take place in three Southern states that were under rebel control.

Table No. (5)

13-23 December 2000 National Assembly Election*/**

Registered Voters 12,000,000 (approx.)

Total Votes (Voter Turnout) Not Available

Party	Number of Seats (360)
National Congress Party (NCP)	355
Independents	5

*The election was boycotted by most of the major opposition parties.

**Voting did not take place in three Southern states that were under rebel control.

The Comprehensive Peace Agreement

The CPA enacted an entirely different set of political, social and economic policies. Although the Addis Ababa Agreement had similar provisions, three main differences between The Addis Ababa and The Comprehensive Peace Agreements exist. All the differences are related to the amount of autonomy granted to the South by the CPA, which was unprecedented. A state minister suggested, “While the public thought that The Addis Ababa Agreement was quasi-independence the CPA was thought to be the

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

actual independence of the South.”¹⁰⁸ To begin, The Addis Ababa Agreement did not recognize any of the South’s rights in their resources, while the CPA included a wealth sharing agreement that guaranteed the South 50 percent of the resources, namely oil. Second, The Addis Ababa included minimal Southern representation in Khartoum, while the CPA gave the South proportionate representation. And finally, the CPA allowed the South to maintain its armed forces while The Addis Ababa Agreement forced the South to dissolve its army. As SPLM-North member suggested in an interview, the Southern representatives had learned from their previous mistakes and were more aware of their rights.¹⁰⁹

The CPA comprises six individual agreements which are in order: (1) July 2002, The Machakos Accord; (2) May 2004, Power-Sharing Agreement; (3) January 2004, Wealth-Sharing Protocols; (4) May 2004, The Resolution of the Abyei conflict; (5) May 2004, The Resolution of the Conflict in the Two States of Southern Kordofan and Blue Nile; and, finally, (6) September 2003, the Security Arrangements Agreement.¹¹⁰ The first chapter of the CPA agreement established a six-year interim period, commencing July 9th 2005, where Southern Sudanese would govern their own regional affairs and participate equally in the national government. The South's administration adopted the title 'Government of Southern Sudan' (GoSS) rather than being designated as a regional body merely. The GoSS would have full autonomy including its own government, constitution, army, flag and budget.¹¹¹ The Agreement also stated that by the end of the

¹⁰⁸ Author Interview, Confidential Interview, Khartoum, August 2011.

¹⁰⁹ Author Interview, Confidential Interview, Khartoum, July 2011.

¹¹⁰ Ali Osman Mohamed Taha, and John Garang, “The Comprehensive Peace Agreement Between The Government of The Republic of The Sudan and The Sudan People’s Liberation Movement/Sudan People’s Liberation Army,” (2005): 18.

¹¹¹ Ibid.

interim period, on January 9th 2011, the people of the South would vote on a referendum either to consolidate Sudan's unity or to secede. Shortly after ratifying the CPA, an Interim National Constitution (INC) was written. The INC included all CPA provisions and was held in enactment until July 9th 2011. Throughout the interim period, the CPA stressed that the national government is to exert all efforts to make a unified Sudan an attractive option to Southerners.¹¹²

Cultural Understanding

The cultural aspect of the Agreement was stressed in the first chapter of the CPA, the Machakos Protocol. The government of Sudan recognized that Sudan is a multi-cultural, multi-racial, multi-ethnic, multi-religious, and multi-lingual country.¹¹³ The government of Sudan also agreed "the conflict in Sudan is the longest running conflict in Africa. It has caused horrendous loss of life, destroyed the infrastructure of the country, wasted economic resources, and caused untold suffering, particularly with regard to the people of South Sudan."¹¹⁴ The CPA and INC ensured the legal pluralism of the country. One provision that was enacted permitted each state in Sudan to introduce new legislation commensurate with the religion and customs of the majority of its people, and to revoke any national legislation that opposed them.¹¹⁵

One section of the CPA titled 'State and Religion' established freedom of faith and forbade discrimination on the basis of religion.¹¹⁶ While Islamic Shariah was recognized as the only source of legislation in Northern Sudan, the CPA and INC

¹¹² Ibid.

¹¹³ Sidahmed, 24.

¹¹⁴ Taha and Garang, 19.

¹¹⁵ Ibid, 27.

¹¹⁶ Ibid, 27.

protected the religious rights of non-Muslims in the area. In Sudan, one cannot address religion or language separately as the two are inexorably connected. Therefore, the CPA and INC viewed all indigenous languages of Sudan as national languages to be esteemed, fostered and promoted.¹¹⁷ Although English and Arabic were recognized as the official languages for work and instruction in schools, the CPA and INC gave the right for any state in Sudan to adopt its majority language for these purposes.¹¹⁸ Another important aspect of the cultural entente was citizenship. Citizenship is critical to peacemaking, particularly in light of a history of Islamization and Arabization, where it was primarily based on one religion and culture. Sudan's INC recognized citizenship as the basis of all rights and obligations for all Sudanese including equality before the law.¹¹⁹

Power Sharing

The power sharing protocol was concluded in 2004 and it is perhaps the most salient component of the CPA. The CPA outlined that all parties involved are “convinced that decentralization and empowerment of all levels of government are cardinal principles of effective and fair administration of the country.”¹²⁰ The signatories expressed their commitment to the underlying principles of power distribution and acknowledged the sovereignty of the nation as vested in its people as well as the Government of Southern Sudan and States throughout the country. There were three-tiers of power-sharing, one distinct to the national level manifested in the Government of National Unity (GNU), one to the Government of Southern Sudan, and another for the 25 States in Northern and Southern Sudan. The power sharing protocol established the institutions of the GNU. It

¹¹⁷ Taha, and Garang, 50.

¹¹⁸ Ibid.

¹¹⁹ Ibid.

¹²⁰ Ibid, 55.

included the legislature, executive, judiciary and other institutions and commissions specified in the Agreement and the Interim National Constitution.¹²¹ The Agreement stated that the NCP would hold 52 percent while the SPLM would hold 28 percent and the remaining parties would hold 20 percent of the judiciary, executive, and legislative institutions in the GNU. Thus, the CPA guaranteed representation to the South in all of the governmental institutions.¹²²

Wealth Sharing

The wealth-sharing protocol was another important aspect of the CPA, particularly when it came to oil. Although, 80 percent of Sudan's oil is generated from the South¹²³, all the pipelines responsible for its transport to the Red Sea pass through the North from Khartoum to Bour Sudan on the Red Sea. According to the protocol, two percent of oil revenue was to be turned to the oil-producing state in the South.¹²⁴ The remaining net revenues would be shared on 50 percent basis between the GoSS and the GNU.¹²⁵ The wealth sharing protocol also gave the GNU the ability to collect revenues from personal income, corporate income and custom taxes nationwide. Additionally, the GoSS has the ability to collect personal income taxes, luxury taxes and business taxes in the South. Dual banking systems would be established according to the protocol with two separate currencies until the Central Bank could design a new currency that would reflect the cultural diversity of Sudan.¹²⁶

¹²¹ Ibid.

¹²² Ibid, 65.

¹²³ Ibid, 70.

¹²⁴ Ibid.

¹²⁵ Ibid, 72.

¹²⁶ Ibid, 77.

The Secession

An assessment of the implementation of the CPA, including wealth and power sharing, will be discussed in the following chapter. However, its implementation was poor on many fronts and as a result of this and other factors stated in the subsequent chapter, the southerners were inclined to secession. In mid 2010, Salva Kiir said, “It will need a miracle to change the Southerner’s opinion about separation.”¹²⁷ On February 14th 2011, the first official referendum results were declared. The South, as anticipated, overwhelmingly (about 97 percent) voted for separation. On July 9th, the South celebrated its official independence from Sudan forming The Republic of South Sudan, Africa’s newest state.

Conclusion

Khartoum’s policies are the first and foremost determinant of the civil war and the call for secession. When an opposition member was asked about the determinants of secession he responded, “the call of separation in the South was always [dependent] on the kind of government in the North. Sometimes the parameter went up and sometimes it went down subject to the type of government in Khartoum.”¹²⁸ The brief narrative of the civil wars illustrated that when Khartoum recognized the South’s political rights that include self-rule and fair representation in the government, economic rights that entail equitable share of resources, and social rights that involve profound respect to the South’s culture, tradition, and languages peace was attainable. However, this was not the case with Abboud’s military regime.

¹²⁷ Al Oula Interview, Salva Kiir, accessed Oct. 2010, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oZpi5XNyA-I&feature=related>

¹²⁸ Author Interview, Confidential Interview, Khartoum, August 2011.

The call for secession was vehement during Abboud's dictatorial regime, 1958-1964. This is because the regime enacted an assimilationist social agenda that suppressed the South's identity and a centralized political structure that dismissed their right to self-government. The South responded by strengthening Anyanya I and the result was the continuation and intensification of the war. The second democratic government spoke the rhetoric of social justice and political opening including democracy and decentralization. The South responded by showing its willingness to participate in Sudanese politics through forming political parties and bases in Khartoum. The revival of a united Sudan with a federal discourse also grew among the Southerners. As soon as the democratic government's disingenuous intentions became apparent, through rejecting the South's right to self-determination and reconsidering the Islamic-Arab Agenda, the South turned to war.

Jaafar Al Numeiri's respect to the South's social and political autonomy, which was stated in the Addis Ababa Agreement, led to the more than ten-year peace agreement. During this period, the call for secession in the South was considerably muted. The abrogation of The Addis Ababa Agreement led to the creation of the SPLM/A and the second civil war, which was fuelled by the implementation of Shariah in 1983.

The war reached its peak with the ascendance of the radical Islamists in 1989, who increased the polarization of the Sudanese identity. They led a centralized form of governance with rigid political and social policies. Peace would only rise again with The Comprehensive Peace Agreement in 2005, that similar to the path of The Addis Ababa Agreement, respected the South's social autonomy and granted them proportionate wealth and power sharing.

The sensitivity of Khartoum and the South to international factors was also discussed in this chapter. The role of foreign actors cannot be underestimated in the unfolding of Sudan's political development, particularly the civil war. Khartoum joined the Arab League in the 1950's and received support from its Arab neighbours who were committed to pan-Arabism. Israel with its conflict with Arab countries over Palestine was exploiting opportunities to weaken its rivals. Anyanya was there to receive Israeli support in the form of equipment and training.

On the broader international scene, the Arab countries were receiving support from the Soviet Union, who later on with the rise of Numeiri's socialist government supported Numeiri directly. The support that was given to both Khartoum and the South was what kept the war alive. The severing of Israeli support and Soviet support on both sides, caused by Numeiri's new regional friendly strategy and his purge of radical communists, forced both sides to the negotiating table.

Chapter Three:

Analysis- Factors Leading to Secession

This chapter provides an in depth analysis of the factors that led to secession. The factors are: the impact of the Northern Arabs' policies, the weakness of Sudan's democratic experiments, the failure of the peace processes, the existence of entrenched historical grievances, and the role of international actors. All of the aforementioned factors fall under the conceptual paradigm introduced in the opening of the thesis. These factors are social, economic, political, and international.

1. Northern Arabs' Policies

One of the most important factors that contributed to the secession of South Sudan is the Northern Arabs' national policies. Their policies can be categorized under regional discrimination and Arabization and they were able to implement them because they had exclusive control of the government after independence. The Northern Arabs were the most educated and as such were strongly favoured by the colonial powers who transferred all economic, social and political powers at independence. Tribes such the Ashraf, Shayqiyah, Ja'aliyya, and Rubatab are among these groups.¹²⁹ El-Fatih Salam states that, "to the disfranchised independence meant a change of political leaders with favouritism and nepotism dominating the scene."¹³⁰

Empowering the Northern Arabs was a direct result of the Anglo-Egyptian inequitable distribution of resources and social and economic investment from 1898 to 1956.¹³¹ The Anglo-Egyptian administration concentrated nearly all social and economic activities, investment, and capital resources in the Khartoum province and the Northern

¹²⁹ Peter Adwok Nyaba, "SPLM-NCP Asymmetrical Power Relations Jeopardize the Implementation of the CPA and the Future of the Sudan," *International Journal of African Renaissance Studies* (2010): 139.

¹³⁰ El Fatih A Salam, "The Politicization of Ethnic Sentiments in The Sudan: Implications for Nation-Building," *Journal of third World Studies* (2008) 25: 117.

¹³¹ Ibid.

province to the neglect of the rest of the country.¹³² The nucleus of investment was The Gezira (between The Blue and White Niles) and the Riverian districts, both of which fall in the Khartoum region.¹³³ The inequity was also applied to the allocation of communication, transportation and education facilities. For example, the majority of schools were in Northern Sudan, where conditions were more conducive to learning than in the remaining nomadic societies. The sedentary Nubian and arabized tribes along the Nile had a literary written language that made schooling easier. By 1944, “483 of the colony’s 514 secondary school students were recruited from Blue Nile region, Khartoum, and Northern Provinces.”¹³⁴ By independence (1956), as a consequence of inequity, cities like Khartoum, Medani, Atbarah, Port Sudan and Obeid were flourishing economically and socially; they were becoming the commercial and industrial centres of the country while the peripheral areas of Sudan were marginalized.

a) Regional Discrimination

In the postcolonial period, one dimension to the Northern Arabs policies was the continuation of the discriminatory and exclusionary economic, social, and political policies that prompted secessionist demands. As in the Smith’s framework, regional discrimination and negligence can galvanize groups into separatism, both of which were part of Khartoum’s economic scheme.

After Independence, Sudan instigated the Ten Year Plan of Economic and Social Development (1961 to 1971). Under the plan, major public investment was concentrated in three agricultural projects in the Northeast. The projects of the Ten Year Plan

¹³² Sharkey, 27.

¹³³ Rodin, 503.

¹³⁴ Ibid, 506.

consumed 75 percent of national agricultural expenditure.¹³⁵ The World Bank prepared the plan with advice from United Nations Advisors. Its structure, Rodin described, portrayed a cognizant effort to continue on the path of growth evolved during the colonial period believing that “in general more advanced growth in one region will spill over into other regions and that the former will partly supply the resources - without arresting its own growth - to develop the latter.”¹³⁶

The only major government projects financed outside the Riverine core were railway links constructed from Khartoum to Nyala in the West and Wau in the South. McLaughlin estimated that The Gezira district alone was receiving 77 percent of all government spending in the late 1950's. Two decades after independence, another economist indicated that all towns with industrial bases were located in central Sudan and The Nile corridor, and that the peripheral regions had virtually none.¹³⁷ Decades after independence, 75 percent of the industrial bases were established around Khartoum.¹³⁸ Even in the past few years, and after the discovery of oil, the oil-generated prosperity continued to be reflected in only a few Northern states. Infrastructure, economic and social development projects remained to be concentrated in the Khartoum region with much less investment in the regional areas of the country.

Horowitz's framework suggests that backward groups in backward regions were the fastest to demand secession. In Sudan, all of the groups and regions, save the north/centre, were disadvantaged socially and economically and this led to wide spread

¹³⁵ Ibid.

¹³⁶ Ibid.

¹³⁷ Rodin, 512.

¹³⁸ Ibid, 508.

rebellion, particularly in the South. David Rodin explained, “the west, parts of the east, and the South remained social and economic backwaters... regions of low investment peripheral to the core and comprising most of the Sudan remained underprivileged in almost every respect.”¹³⁹

Inequalities were not limited to the economic sphere. Politically, the Northern Arabs carried a policy of regional exclusion. As in Wood’s framework, this led to diminishing the central government’s legitimacy in the eyes of regional groups and they turned to separatism. These same groups, to a great extent, were underrepresented in the national government and thus felt secluded and alienated. Since independence, the Northern Arabs, who make up a minority in the country, controlled most of the government. There was a large degree of alienation of non-Arab and western and eastern Arab groups. The northerners made up less than six percent of the entire population; nevertheless they continued to form the majority of the government after independence.¹⁴⁰ Table 6 shows how the ministerial share of the Northern residents varied between 60 and 80 percent, with the sole exception of the second democratic period, 1986-89, when the share fell to 47 percent.¹⁴¹ This is despite that they constituted less than 5 percent of the entire Sudanese population.¹⁴²

¹³⁹ Rodin, 505.

¹⁴⁰ Alex Cobham, “Causes of Conflict in Sudan: Testing The Black Book,” *European Journal of Development Research* (2005). 17: 464.

¹⁴¹ Ibid, 465.

¹⁴² Ibid, 464.

Table No. (6)

- Sudanese Government - Regional Representation (%)

Regions	States	Population Share (%, 2001)	Regimes					
			Abboud 1954-64 (Military)	Second Democracy 1964-69	Numeri (Military) 1969-85	Transitional Military Council 1985-86	Third Democracy (Al-Mahdi) 1986-89	Revolutionary Command Council (Al Bashir) June 1989
Eastern	Gedharif							
	Kassala	11.7	1.4	2.05	2.5	0	2.6	0
	Red Sea							
Northern	Northern River Nile	4.7	79	67.9	68.7	70	47.4	66.7
Central	Blue Nile							
	Gezira							
	Khartoum	36.9	2.8	6.2	16.5	10	14.7	0
	Sinnar							
	White Nile							
Southern	Bahr Al-Ghazal							
	Equatorial	16.0	16	17.3	7.8	16.7	12.9	13.3
	Upper Nile							
Western	Darfur							
	Kordofan	30.6	0	6.2	3.5	3.3	22.4	20

b) Arabization

The second dimension to the Northern Arabs' policies was Arabization. The Northern Arabs used the inherited governmental apparatus to advance their Arab tenets and tradition through an assimilationist agenda. As in Horowitz and Woods' theories of secession, any assimilationist approach that threatens any group's identity and suppresses its culture is likely to instigate secessionist sentiments. This is the reason experts on Sudan such as Sharky and Salam argue that the policy of *ta'arib* or Arabization was the policy chiefly responsible for undermining the state's stability and fuelling ethnic rivalry post-independence. Arabization also accompanied, in some occasions, sentiments of racial supremacy. This racial hubris, in particular, increased resistance.¹⁴³

Ta'arib, historically, has been tremendously successful in Sudan and met little opposition. This is mainly true in its linguistic side. In fact, Arabic continues to spread

¹⁴³ Deng, 263.

today at the grassroots level as a lingua franca.¹⁴⁴ The phenomenon began with the early *iftetah al-islamy* or Islamic opening of North Africa that was characterized by an inundation of Muslim Arab nomads. The process accelerated with the collapse of the Nubian Christian Kingdom and the rise of the Funj Islamic sultanate in North central Sudan.¹⁴⁵

Knowledge of the Arabic language spread along with the spread of Islam in Sudan. The diffusion of Arabic came as new Muslims wanted to learn the language of The Quran, the holy book of Islam, and the ‘technology of literacy’. The technology of literacy allowed for recording business transactions and biographical accounts since most of the local cultures were oral. Intermarriages between the Non-Arab members and Arab pastoralists also helped to disseminate the Arab culture.¹⁴⁶

In contrast to the successful historical spread of Arabic, the attempt to achieve national unity through Arabization as a post-independence policy has been viewed as a failure. *Ta’arib* as a governmental policy entailed the implementation of official measures to diffuse Arabic culture and Islam to all regions. One of the aims of the policy was to rapidly proliferate Arabic to territories where non-Arab languages were spoken.

In many instances the top-down policies of *ta’arib* undermined Sudanese unity and instead provoked enmity and resistance. Many of these policies were implemented immediately after independence. Two years after independence (1958), the first postcolonial Abboud regime (1958-64) decreed Islam and Arabic the official religion and

¹⁴⁴ Ibid, 22.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid.

¹⁴⁶ Sharkey, 24.

language of Sudan. Another implication of this policy was changing ‘the day of rest’ in the South from Sunday to Friday (the Islamic sacred day).¹⁴⁷

Yet another example of the Arabization policies was the implementation of Shariah as the official law of the nation by president Numeiri in 1983. This unilateral action contributed to the fervour of the second civil war. This and similar examples caused widespread anger and resentment in the South and among the secularist Northern opposition. Heather Sharkey described “ultimately the strong-arm Arabist ideology of successive postcolonial Khartoum regimes had stimulated the formation of an oppositional Africanist ideology, this new Africanist ideology called for plurality of African cultures and languages rather than the cultural singularity of Arabization.”¹⁴⁸ The policies of *ta’rib* and regional discrimination have contributed to Sudan’s two civil wars in the Southern region and the more recent conflict in Darfur.¹⁴⁹

The existing ethnic and religious polarization were magnified by the ascendance of the Islamists (1989), National Islamic Front (NIF). Prunier suggested the NIF “repackaged the old themes of Arab domination into a more attractive radical Islam guise.”¹⁵⁰ Internally, the NIF came to power with an anti-peace and pro-Islamist agenda. It insisted on an assimilationist approach to ruling Sudan in which Arabic would become the sole language and Islam would continue to spread southwards.¹⁵¹ The NIF used its radical rhetoric to fuel the war against the South describing the war as jihad against the

¹⁴⁷ A Salam, 120.

¹⁴⁸ Sharkey, 24.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid.

¹⁵⁰ Rogier, 26.

¹⁵¹ Ibid, 38.

pagans. Their radicalism also led other Northern moderate Islamic parties to oppose them (Democratic Unionist and Umma Parties).

Arabization along with the unequal economic and political institutional structures continued to marginalize the peripheral ethnic groups resulting in the development of regional discontent and separatism.¹⁵² For the regions, the centre was illegitimate because it did not politically represent them, invest in their economic or social development, and allow them to maintain their identity. Thus, many of these groups, like those of Southern Sudan, resorted to violent mobilization in an effort to gain social, economic and political autonomy. The result was Africa's longest civil war that many scholars such as El-Fatih Salam anticipated.

El Fatih Salam suggests, "...By intentionally laying the foundations for structural inequalities, the colonists were leaving behind a political time bomb."¹⁵³ This political bomb could have been off set by the success of a democratic system of governance. A sound democratic system would assure equal representation and inclusiveness, which would set a path to equal social and economic policies. Most importantly, only a democratic system would allow and foster a decentralized and accommodative system of governance. All of the South's demands, such as decentralization, accommodation and equal political representation necessitated democratic governance. This leads to another factor that contributed to the secession of South Sudan, the states' democratic failures.

¹⁵² A Salam, 118.

¹⁵³ Ibid.

2. The Weakness of Sudan's Democratic Governments

Table No. (7)

	Build-up Period	Catalyst for change	Issues	Major Actors	Tools and means
1953-58 1st Democratic period	Relatively long from 1948-53	1953 self-rule Agreement	Independence	Britain, Egypt, Northern parties	Negotiations
1958-64 Military Regime	Long period	Military coup	Islamization and Arabization	Anyanya I	War
1964-69 Transitional period and 2nd Democratic period	Short period	Student demonstrations	Islamization and Arabization	Anyanya I	War
1969-1985 Military Regime-71 and one party state-85	Long period	Military Coup	North-South Addis Ababa peace agreement	Anyanya I and Numeri government	Negotiations and mediation
1986-1989 3rd Democratic Period	Short period	Urban unrest and labour union strikes	Economy and North-South Issue	Mahdi gov't & SPLM	Negotiations and war
1989-1999 Military regime, One Party state	Long period	Military coup	Islamization and Arabization	SPLM and Bashir gov't	War
2000-2005 Restricted Democratic Practice	Medium period	Oil, international pressure	North-South Darfur	SPLM, NCP (Khartoum Gov't), IGAD	N-S - Negotiations Darfur - War
2005-2011 4th Democratic Period	Medium Period	Comprehensive Peace Agreement	North-South	SPLM, NCP, IGAD	Negotiations and Secession

The second factor of the South's secession is the weakness of the Sudanese democratic governments. The short-lived democracies failed to restructure Sudan on impartial regional representation and equitable economic and social grounds. The absence of effective democratic governments increases the probability of conflict and separatism in plural societies as was stressed in Elazar and Lijpharts' theories. Unfortunately, post-independence democratic governments in Khartoum were ineffective and this consolidated secessionist sentiments.

Table 7 shows that Sudan witnessed four democratic periods.¹⁵⁴ The leaders of the democratic governments misused the country's resources, failed to find a solution to the civil war, and failed to develop the country socially or economically.¹⁵⁵ The politicians often engaged in corrupt practices and were not responsive to the civilians.

¹⁵⁴ El-Battahani, 35.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid.

State institutions were too ineffective to hold the government accountable or to implement the rule of law. According to Hamid, when looking at the events of the late third democratic period (1986-89) “any veteran observer is bound to have a déjà vu.”¹⁵⁶ The resemblances between the short-lived second democratic period (1964-69) and the third democratic period (1986-89) were indeed remarkable:

The political malaise permeating then paralyzing the body politic in the late 1980s is like an uncanny recurrence of the same affliction that plagued the country in the late 1960s: the same disarray of the same coalition governments of the same political parties; the same instability that is symptomatic of an unworkable political system and an unpredictable political process. The bankrupt economy, drained by a costly civil war, corruption and mismanagement is even worse than the recurrent economic crises of the 1960s. It is as though history is repeating itself with a vengeance.¹⁵⁷

Sidahmed contended that the political parties were not concerned about justice, multiparty democracy and liberty. He asserts that the two revivals of democracy in 1965 and 1985 were mere accidents caused by the “[...] weakness of military regimes, not the strength of democrats.”¹⁵⁸

The CPA instigated the fourth democratic period. Democratic transition was at the heart of the CPA and the signatories recognized that “... good governance, accountability, transparency, democracy, and the rule of law at all levels of government (are all necessary principles) to achieve lasting peace (and attractive unity).¹⁵⁹” However, like its predecessors, the fourth democratic transition rendered a successful democracy unlikely when taking into account the history of its leadership, the NCP. A history that involved manipulation of ethnic relations, brutal intensifying of the South-North conflict, responsibility for the outbreak of the Darfur conflict, continuous reports of human rights

¹⁵⁶ Ibid, 35.

¹⁵⁷ Hamid 1988 quoted in El-Battahani, 36.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid.

¹⁵⁹ Taha, and Garang, 12.

violations, arrests of journalists and the deportation of western diplomats caused serious doubts on the legitimacy of the NCP's democratic credentials and its commitment to democracy in Sudan.¹⁶⁰

In fact, during Al-Bashir's ruling period, key elements of the democratic structure have been weakened. These include a vibrant civil society and strong opposition parties. A vibrant civil society is necessary to achieve a genuine democratic system with respect for human rights.¹⁶¹ And regardless of the abortive efforts and ineffectiveness of the past Sudanese democratic periods, one cannot ignore the civil society's imperative role in bringing about the democratic regimes. The Sudanese trade unions, in particular, were known to be among the most vibrant in Africa and the Middle East.¹⁶² Trade unions, advocacy groups, charitable organizations, and human rights organizations were numerous and active. However, when Al-Bashir came to power, non-governmental organizations and the media became subject to callous repression. Legislation was enacted that restricted and repressed organizations that were perceived to be a prospective threat to the regime. As a result, the organizations that survived kept a low profile. These organizations avoided human rights advocacy and focused on development work. Civil society was emaciated during the 15-year authoritarian rule by the NCP. Unfortunately, even with its minimal resurrection in the last few years, it was excluded from the CPA negotiation process.

The NCP's suppressive attitude dulled and weakened not only the once-vibrant Sudanese civil society but also other political parties, incapacitating them from fighting for Sudan's unity. Strong opposition parties are crucial for a genuine democratic

¹⁶⁰ Hartog, 44.

¹⁶¹ Ibid, 36.

¹⁶² Ibid.

transition as they hone a system of checks and balances. Northern opposition parties have been excluded from the government for several years, and as such initially eulogized seemingly democratic changes since it gave them an opportunity to reconnect with their political centres.¹⁶³ However, very similar to civil society groups, they lacked resources and were beleaguered and marginalized. Only two parties could finance their campaigns, the NCP and SPLM.

The opposition and civil society groups also criticized the NCP for strong man behaviour that was not conducive to genuine democracy such as the party's control of government institutions. The institutions created by the CPA were weak and directly fell under the heel of the NCP or the SPLM. This resulted in the ineffectiveness of state and the absence of accountability. For example, despite the CPA provisions, serious concerns existed regarding the use of state resources by the NCP.¹⁶⁴ Moreover, there was a serious lack of transparency with regard to the NCP's funding and expenditure. Allegations of extensive corruption by state officials incited much controversy. Despite this, a direct investigation was not instigated.¹⁶⁵

In fact, no enquiries were launched to assess one of the most contentious CPA provisions, the national elections. The national elections were an imperative component of the CPA. However, opposition parties, civil society groups and foreign observers declared serious electoral irregularities and even obvious NCP rigging of the entire electoral process, from registration through to polling.¹⁶⁶ These concerns were disregarded as unproven by the National Elections Commission. An SPLM member who

¹⁶³ Ibid, 34.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid, 30.

¹⁶⁶ Author Interview, Confidential Interview, Khartoum, August 2011.

was the Chairperson of the High Election Committee at the time of elections suggested in an interview with the author, “they (the NCP) manipulated everything, they used food, aid, everything to buy votes. And this is one of the biggest violations of the CPA and the election law. Many other things, like the freedom of press and speech were not there, even during the election times. This did not create a conducive atmosphere for free elections.¹⁶⁷”

Omar Al-Bashir won the presidential elections with 68.24 percent of the votes as can be seen in table 8. And as table 9 shows, in the National Assembly elections, Al-Bashir’s NCP gained 323 seats out of 450. Under the CPA parliamentary arrangement, the NCP had 52 percent of the seats and as a result of the 2010 elections, the NCP made considerable gains with 72 percent of the seats.¹⁶⁸ This increase gave the NCP a clear majority in parliament. The NCP became more intransigent with the SPLA, which at the time only had 22 percent of the seats. The problematic elections sabotaged all democratic prospects and undermined the most important peace agreement in Sudan’s history, the Comprehensive Peace Agreement.

Table No. (8)
11-15 April 2010 Presidential Election

Registered voters 16,500,000
Total Votes (Voter Turnout) N/A
Invalid/Blank Votes N/A
Total Valid Votes 10,114,310

Candidate (Party)	Number of Votes	% of Votes
Omar Hassan al-Bashir (NCP)	6,901,694	68.24%
Yasir Arman (SPLM)	2,193,826	21.69%
Abdullah Deng Nhial (PCP)	396,139	3.92%
Hatim Al-Sir (DUP)	195,668	1.93%
Others		4.22%

Prior to the election being held, a total of five candidates had withdrawn from the race: Yasir Arman, Sadiq Al-Mahdi, Hatim Al-Sir, Mubarak Al-Fadil, and Mohamed Ibrahim Nugud. Their names, however, remained on the ballot and each gained votes.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid.

¹⁶⁸ “Sudan,” African Election Databases, accessed 2010 <http://africanelections.tripod.com/sd.html>

Table No. (9)

11-15 April 2010 National Assembly Election

Registered Voters 16,500,00 (approx) Total Voters N/A

Party	Number of Seats (450)
National Congress Party (NCP)	323
Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM)	99
Popular Congress Party (PCP)	4
Democratic Unionist Party (DUP)	4
Umma Federal Party (UFP)	3
Umma Renewal and Reform Party (URRP)	2
Democratic Unionist Party-Original (DUPO)	2
Sudan People's Liberation Movement-Democratic Change (SPLM-DC)	2
Others	4
Independents	3
Vacant	4

3. Failure of the Peace Processes

The third factor that contributed to the South's secession is the failure of the peace processes. The purpose of the various peace agreements was to erode any secessionist sentiments through ensuring equitable political, economic, and social rights. The Comprehensive Peace Agreement was to encompass all of the provisions necessary to provide attractive unity to the South. As was mentioned above, the democratic terms of the CPA were not met. However, besides the democratic failure of the CPA, there were other serious concerns.

Apropos the power sharing stipulations, the power asymmetry between the NCP and SPLM allowed the NCP to hinder the application of the CPA's constitutional arrangements and the democratic transition in general (as aforementioned the NCP held 52 percent of all governmental institutions). Federal arrangements, in which one order clearly dominates are unlikely to succeed. The party was aware of its potency. A representative of the NCP said that "[...] we (the NCP) have the cards of the game in our hands and we have to trust other groups if we want to share the cards with them. We have as well the power to organize elections or not."¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁹ Hartog, 24.

One year after the INC was enacted, the NCP's intention to prevent power sharing was obvious. Many international observers recorded this. A representative of the Friedrich Erbert Stiftung academic foundation asserted that Al-Bashir and his party tried to hinder the implementation of the power sharing agreements to the extent that it was not confrontational but enough to thwart political change.¹⁷⁰ For example, The NCP was slow in implementing important CPA provisions and still followed a somewhat unilateral approach. Many key institutions such as the National Human Rights Commission were not established, more importantly, the national reconciliation and healing processes were not launched. There was also lack of progress on the issues of the census, elections, Abyei, and border demarcation, all vital components of the CPA.

The NCP's disinterest in genuine power sharing caused particular resentment within the SPLM. As a result, on October 2007, the SPLM froze its engagement in the GNU for two and a half months.¹⁷¹ The SPLM recalled its ministers, state ministers and presidential advisers from the GNU. The SPLM also announced that it would recommence participation in the GNU only after these issues had been resolved. The SPLM rejoined when Al-Bashir reshuffled his cabinet and promised new SPLM ministers, presidential advisors and state ministers. However, power-sharing was not completely absent. On August 2011, state official and an SPLM-North opposition leader both cited this.¹⁷² The SPLM-North member suggested that the majority of power sharing

¹⁷⁰ Ibid. (The Friedrich Erbert Stiftung Foundation is the oldest German foundation to carry international projects on democracy, and political education. It is active in over 100 countries.)

¹⁷¹ Nyaba, 143.

¹⁷² Author Interview, Confidential Interview, Khartoum, August 2011.

specifications were implemented (about 80 percent) and that the SPLM fulfilled the 28 percent share promised in the GNU's institutions.¹⁷³

As for the implementation of the cultural entente, Salva Kiir, the GoSS president spoke of clear divergence from its provisions, which were instrumental in providing attractive unity to the South. Salva Kiir said, "There was no respect for ethnic and religious diversity."¹⁷⁴ Atem Garang, the Deputy Chairperson of the GoSS Legislative Assembly, claimed that Southerners in the North were not protected against religious discrimination. Garang also pointed to the many hostile statements made by Northern religious leaders against the Southerners and the CPA. Many of these comments were provocative and highly criticized aspects of the cultural entente.¹⁷⁵ For example, Garang said, "When we (SPLM) arrived to Khartoum in 2005, there was a fatwa (religious decree) stating that the SPLM is an infidel movement, and who ever deals with it will be an apostate," and that the NCP did not respond to it or any other similar statements. The nonchalance of the NCP reflected the party's disinterest in making unity attractive. Al-Bashir always favoured his Islamic hardliners and even gave them numerous ministerial and parliamentary posts.¹⁷⁶ Surrounding himself with controversial hardliners, Al-Bashir prevented cooperation and frustrated the Southerners.

The southerners were most frustrated with the problematic implementation of the oil-sharing protocol. It was its questionable application that almost led to the collapse of the entire CPA in 2007 when the SPLM froze its participation in the GNU. Salva Kiir

¹⁷³ Ibid.

¹⁷⁴ Al Oula Interview, Salva Kiir, accessed 2010, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oZpj5XNyA-I&feature=related>

¹⁷⁵ Al Jazeera Interview, Atem Garang, accessed <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7RAKCBWMBTw&feature=related>

¹⁷⁶ Author Interview, Confidential Interview, Khartoum, August 2011.

spoke repeatedly of clear contravention of the fifty-fifty share indicated in the CPA. He stated that the GoSS received about 26 percent of oil revenues not knowing where the rest went.¹⁷⁷ The lack of transparency in the oil sector and the disagreements on the North-South border, that up to this day are not finalized, enabled the NCP to deviate from the 50-50 quotas. During most of the interim period, 2005-2011, both the ministers of finance and energy were NCP members and did not fully disclose oil revenue information.¹⁷⁸ Global Witness, a London-based group that advocates against natural resource-related conflict and corruption, noted the contentious oil sharing implementation.¹⁷⁹ It argued that, “the Sudanese government and the China National Petroleum Corporation (CNPC), which runs the largest oil-extraction operation in the country, have failed to explain significant discrepancies in oil production numbers.”¹⁸⁰ This led many to suspect that the government in the North was concealing oil revenues from the GoSS.

The contravention of the CPA’s wealth-sharing, power-sharing and cultural provisions proved to the Southerners the historical fact that Khartoum cannot be trusted. One author stated, “Sudan is notorious for many agreements dishonoured,”¹⁸¹ which has led to substantial and profound distrust between the parties. From the Southerners’ perspective, secession was inevitable. Despite how good the deal may be, history shows that the government had and would breach the deal.

In addition to Al-Bashir (1989 to present), the two previous Sudanese presidents, Jaafar Numeri (1969-1985) and democratically elected Al-Mahdi (1986-1989) have

¹⁷⁷ Al Oula Interview, Salva Kiir, accessed 2010 <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oZpj5XNyA-I&feature=related>

¹⁷⁸ “WatchDog Sudan needs new oil deal,” Al Jazeera, accessed January 2011, <http://english.aljazeera.net/news/africa/2011/01/20111681348749379.html>

¹⁷⁹ Ibid.

¹⁸⁰ “Crude Calculations: The Continued Lack of Transparency Over Oil in Sudan,” *Global Witness* (2011) 10.

¹⁸¹ Nyaba, 143.

breached promises and treaties ratified with the South. Jaafar Numeri contravened The Addis Ababa Agreement in 1983. Al-Mahdi reneged on the Koka Dam Agreement signed in 1986 with the SPLA.¹⁸² The Koka Dam aimed for a Sudan "free from racism, tribalism, sectarianism and all causes of discrimination and disparity."¹⁸³ It also included the repeal of Shariah and the institutionalization of secularism. Although most political parties supported the Koka Dam, the two most prominent parties, the Democratic Unionist Party and the National Islamic Front, refused to ratify it. In forthcoming negotiations Al-Mahdi, who may have been forced by his strong opposition and his fragile government, insisted on the continuation of Shariah in the North. This clearly violated the provisions of the Koka Dam.

To a large extent, by contravening the peace treaties, the various Sudanese governments reinforced the gravity of the situation. In his visit to Sudan in 1964, the historian Arnold Toybee noted that the situation between the North and the South required from the more powerful and developed Northern Sudan to show "inexhaustible patience, forbearance, and generosity, and immense understanding and sympathy."¹⁸⁴ However, since independence, most of the governments in Khartoum viewed the South's armed struggle as a rebellion that needed to be suppressed. Khartoum showed little generosity and even less patience.

¹⁸² Garang started working with the National Alliance, a coalition of parties and political organizations that opposed Numeri's rule, on finding a solution to Sudan's problems. The discussion led to the Koka Dam Agreement in 1986 signed in Ethiopia by the Umma Party

¹⁸³ "Sudan: The Transitional Military Council," Library of Congress Country Studies, accessed 2010 <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?frd/cstdy:@field%28DOCID+sd0041%29>

¹⁸⁴ David H. Shinn, "The Addis Ababa Agreement: was it destined to fail and are there lessons for the Current Sudan Peace Process," *Annales D'Ethiopies* (2004) 20: 243.

4. Historical Grievances

The fourth factor that led to the secession in the case of South Sudan is the existence of deep-rooted historical grievances. Pavkovic and Radan stressed this factor in their conceptual paradigm and stated that it is one of the most reliable indicators of secession. For Southern Sudanese, historical grievances and the failure of reconciliation magnified the cultural barriers. A mid-age Southerner, describing his feelings about the unity of Sudan said, “In every Southern house, whether Muslim or Christian, someone has been lost to the war.”¹⁸⁵

Around 2.5 million were killed in Africa’s longest civil war, most of whom were Southerners. Another 4.5 million were displaced and millions more were affected by post-war natural crises such as famines.¹⁸⁶ The Southern Sudanese have faced tremendous suffering. This suffering has been cognitively linked to the North. Another young Southern man leaving Khartoum and heading to the South before the referendum said, “If they treated us good, none of this would have happened.”¹⁸⁷ Moreover, the Southerners who lived in the North often felt constant humiliation and racism. Most of the Southerners working in the North were treated like menials. The majority of Southern Sudanese place the onus of humiliation, ghastly killings, underdevelopment, poverty, and marginalization on the North. One man said describing his support for secession, “to be free, to be free, to be no longer slaves.”¹⁸⁸ Undoubtedly, these factors prompted the Southerners to vote for independence.

¹⁸⁵ Aljazeera, People and Power, accessed December 2010.

<http://english.aljazeera.net/programmes/peopleandpower/2010/12/2010122964716111620.html>

¹⁸⁶ Ibid.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸⁸ El-Battahani, 30.

Secession became inevitable with the death of the Southern leader John Garang. He was one of the few Southerners who had faith in a united Sudan. He died six months after the ratification of the CPA in a plane crash (cause of the crash remains unclear). The advent of a pro-secessionist leader, Salva Kiir, made secession unpreventable. Kiir's influence, charisma and political capabilities were not equivalent to Garang's. He lacked Garang's sophisticated education, sway and diplomacy skills. The relations with Khartoum deteriorated after Garang's death, after which Kiir spoke of secession publicly.

Garang's role as a charismatic and visionary leader in the development of Sudan's affairs was enormous. Since he assumed power in the early 1980's as the leader of the second rebellion, his dream of a united secular Sudan was unflinching. His commitment to the idea of a united secular Sudan explains the inability of many international actors involved in the CPA peace talks between the North and the South to foresee secession. A Sudanese academic and federal advisor suggested in an interview, "the network of IGAD was certain of Garang's personality and his views (including his vision to united Sudan)" and so secession was not expected.¹⁸⁹ Most of the Southerners were pro-secessionists and the weak belief in Garang's vision of a united, secular, and Africanist Sudan ended with his death.

5. International Factors

The last factor that contributed to the secession of South Sudan is international support. Foreign intervention is an important pillar of Young and Heraclides' theory of separatism. They propose that if the central government is unable to accommodate the demands of the secessionist movement and if the movement succeeds in mustering

¹⁸⁹ Author Interview, Confidential Interview, Khartoum, July 2011.

enough public support then only international support is needed to achieve secession. The South received tremendous amount of support from the various regional and international actors in the periods of the first and second civil wars. It was this support that enabled the South to gain de facto secession.

The support that the South received from neighbouring countries was significant. Uganda has proven to be a devoted friend to the South. Ugandan support to Anyanya created ground for the first civil war. In 1986, Yoweri Museveni came to power, a long-time friend of Garang's, and Uganda continued to extend its hands to the SPLA/M. Uganda always accused Khartoum of supporting Ugandan rebel groups such as the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA), the Nile West Bank Liberation Front and the Allied Democratic Forces (ADF), and as a result supported the SPLM.¹⁹⁰

Ethiopia is another close regional ally to South Sudan. Addis-Ababa is much closer to Juba than Khartoum. In fact, the Addis-Ababa-Khartoum relation is inconsistent at best. It is perhaps the most complicated in the region. However, Roland Marchal states, "These (Khartoum-Addis relations) dictate the future stability of the Horn of Africa."¹⁹¹ In the first civil war, Ethiopia supported Anyanya. This was perhaps a cause or an effect of Khartoum's support to the Eritreans since the mid 1960s. Sudan sheltered tens of thousands of Eritrean and Ethiopian refugees. Khartoum also assisted various rebel groups. In the last few decades, Khartoum supported the Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF), the Tigrinya People's Liberation Front (TPLF), the Oromo Liberation

¹⁹⁰ George Onyango Katete, "The Regional Outcome of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement Five Years down the Road: The External Forces Playing a Progressive Role." *International Journal of African Renaissance Studies* (2010): 163

¹⁹¹ Ronald Marchal, "The Regional Dimension of Sudanese Politics," *Heinrich Boll Stiftung Publications Series on Democracy* (2010): 84.

Front (OLF) and the Ogden liberators in the South. This was a strategic move since all the above-mentioned groups are considered to be ethnic rebel groups in Ethiopia.

In the 1980s, Khartoum and Addis-Ababa's tensions reached their peak. The two countries were not on the same side of the cold war. While Sudan was turning to America, Mengistu's communist ideology affiliated him with the Soviets. In turn, he supported the SPLA/M, which claimed a socialist ideology. Ethiopia provided shelter for Southern refugees as well as military facilities for SPLA/M recruiting and training.¹⁹²

Regime change in both Khartoum and Addis Ababa around the same time (1989 and 1991 respectively) provided an opportunity for an alliance between the two countries. Just when relations started to improve after the overthrow of Mengistu, tensions escalated again due to the Sudanese involvement in the assassination attempt of Egyptian president Hosni Mubarak in Addis Ababa in 1995 and Al-Bashir's crusading Islamist policies in the region. Soon after the SPLA/M was allowed back into Ethiopia.¹⁹³

Internationally, Al-Bashir's NIF not only supported Islamists in the region but also in other parts of the world.¹⁹⁴ It is said that the NIF supported the Islamists in Algeria and it is confirmed that Al-Bashir fell for Saddam's rhetoric of Islamism and backed the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait. In the early 1990s, Al-Bashir also provided a safe haven for Osama Bin Laden for a few years. This was in addition to building ties with Iran.¹⁹⁵ Khartoum's Islamist agenda multiplied its adversaries, especially with the U.S. as it was encountering terrorist attacks in 1990s. America quickly placed Sudan on the State Sponsor of Terrorism list. The U.S. also rushed into backing Uganda, Ethiopia and

¹⁹² Ibid.

¹⁹³ Ronald Marchal, 80.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid.

Eritrea's containment of Sudan. The support reached its climax in the mid 1990s as the three countries became the U.S. 'frontline states' in the war on Sudan's Islamists. The U.S. in return provided them with military assistance.

Al-Bashir's crusading policies also repelled Eritrea, an ally before such policies took effect. Although Khartoum's support was the main reason that the EPLF and Eritrean nationalists were able to achieve victory, the relations began to sour soon after Eritrea's independence. Eritrea's fear that Khartoum would try to destabilize Asmara by its Islamist regional agenda turned Khartoum from a friend to a suspicious adversary.¹⁹⁶ Relations exacerbated when Khartoum started to meddle in Eritrea's domestic affairs through supporting groups who made claims about power-sharing such as the Bani Amir (who live on the Sudan-Eritrea border and who are well-represented in Al-Bashir's regime).

Al-Bashir's Islamist agenda also had an impact on Sudan's relations with its Arab neighbours, Egypt and Libya. Libya was another country that provided support for the SPLA/M. Gaddafi supported both sides sporadically. Until the fall of Numeiri, Gaddafi backed the South as he viewed the SPLA/M as a liberation movement. Al-Mahdi regime, that followed the overthrow of Numeiri government, was more amiable towards Gaddafi. The positive relations between the governments persuaded Gaddafi to switch sides and support Al-Mahdi until his fall in 1989. After the fall, Gaddafi welcomed Al-Bashir but soon grew wary of his Islamist agenda.

Relations between Egypt and Al-Bashir's Islamist government are marked by historic tensions. All three Egyptian military regimes (Nasser, Sadat and Mubarak) had a

¹⁹⁶ Rogier, 88.

reputation of purging and quashing Egyptian Islamists. As a result of this history, the new Sudanese Islamist regime in 1989 had a negative impression of Egypt's political class. The assassination attempt of Mubarak deteriorated the relationship further, leaving Sudan with very few friends in the region.¹⁹⁷ Egypt's interest in Sudan was twofold. The first was water and the second was in the containment of Islamists. The first led Cairo to support Khartoum. Cairo was afraid that the creation of another Nile basin country (the South) would complicate the issue of water sharing between the basin countries. Approximately 95 percent of Egyptians rely on The Nile for water.

All of the above countries advanced different peace initiatives that would best suit their interests. There were two peace initiatives in the 1990s and early 2000s: a Libyan-Egyptian initiative that focused on Sudan's unity and an Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) peace initiative that focused on secularism and to a degree self-determination. IGAD includes Eritrea (withdrew 2007), Uganda, Kenya, Djibouti, and Somalia and is headed by Ethiopia. The primary assertion of IGAD was to weaken the Islamist government in Khartoum and not necessarily the secession of South Sudan. Rogier stated that promoting secularism was the core of IGAD's strategy "secularism was seen as an antidote to political Islam and a possible way towards overthrowing Khartoum's Islamist regime."¹⁹⁸

IGAD's peace initiative would overshadow the Libyan-Egyptian peace attempt. This was due to western support for IGAD, especially from the United States. IGAD pressured Khartoum to sign an incredibly decentralized system of governance that

¹⁹⁷ Marchal, 85.

¹⁹⁸ Rogier, 40.

severed much of its power and weakened it substantially. The amount of authority that was given to the South under the CPA was on par with an independent state. First, there was no presence of Sudanese military in the South. Second, the oil was shared equally between Khartoum and Juba. Third, Khartoum was not allowed to have direct contact with any of the Southern governors (other than the president of the GoSS). Moreover, the CPA allowed South Sudan to have consulates in every capital around the world. A state official gave two reasons for Khartoum's acquiescence to the CPA, "first Khartoum's negotiators were no match to the international negotiators (almost less in competency), and second international pressure was tremendous."¹⁹⁹

The international community and many Sudanese, Northerners and Southerners together, also believe that the NCP ratified the agreement for its survival, improved relations with the United States, and to feed its insatiable patrimonial cycle. Thus, the NCP's commitment to the CPA was less of a commitment to democracy and peace and more of a manoeuvre to stay in power.

Conclusion

This chapter aimed to analyse each of the factors that contributed to South Sudan's secession. Horowitz, Wood and Smith stressed the determining role of assimilationist agendas, economic discrimination, and political exclusion in inciting separatism. Khartoum carried similar policies and as such regional groups, particularly the South, rebelled. Khartoum's policies, including Arabization and economic and political marginalization, comprise the first determining factor of South Sudan's secession.

¹⁹⁹ Author Interview, Confidential Interview, Khartoum, August 2011.

The second factor that contributed to the secession of South Sudan is the weakness of Sudan's democratic governments. Wood, Elazar and Lijphart all asserted the likelihood of civil discord and separatism in the absence of effective democratic governments. The Sudanese democracies failed to restructure the country on equitable political, social, and economic grounds and as such they were not different from the former authoritarian regimes. As Khartoum's democracies failed, its legitimacy substantially decreased and the South continued on its battle for independence.

The failure of the peace processes is the third factor responsible for the secession of South Sudan. The contravention of the various peace processes through out the history of Sudan proved to the South that peace was unattainable with Khartoum. The Comprehensive Peace Agreement was the most salient peace treaty. Unfortunately, it had failed to fulfil any of its goals, attractive unity or peace.

The implementation of the peace processes was problematic and as such contributed to the fourth factor, historical grievances and distrust. Pavkovic and Radans' conceptual paradigm emphasizes the role of historical grievances in secession. This is clearly seen through the South's case as it witnessed untold tales of suffering and discrimination during its unity with Sudan. Secession for them marked the beginning of liberation.

International community's support to South Sudan is what helped it gain de facto secession and is the last and fifth factor. As in Young and Heraclides' paradigm, foreign support is an essential factor for the actualization of secession. The South received

tremendous amount of support from its regional and western allies, all of whom placed great pressure on Khartoum to grant the South the right to self-determination

Conclusion

The growth of secessionist movements and secessionist rhetoric is often an indicator of civil discord. Scholars have written extensively about the rise of secessionist movements and have indicated that it is a multifactorial product. This thesis holds that five factors are chiefly responsible for secession in the case of Sudan. The factors are: the impact of the Northern Arabs' policies, the weakness of Sudan's democratic experiments, the failure of the peace processes, the existence of entrenched historical grievances, and the role of international actors. The aforementioned factors led to the secession of South Sudan, creating Africa's youngest nation in July 2011 and thus as in Wood's theory; South Sudan's secession is a result of an amalgamation of a series of dynamic 'conditions.

Khartoum's assimilationist agenda and severe political and economic exclusion propelled the Southerners in the direction of secession. The call for secession was only muted when there was a halt to the assimilationist policies and when fair power and wealth sharing were present. International pressure was behind the two peace agreements, The Addis Ababa Agreement and the CPA, both of which entailed a decentralized model of governance that guaranteed cultural rights, wealth and power sharing. The international role played in the unfolding of Sudan's domestic affairs was significant, starting at the beginning with the colonization of the British.

Colonial power impacted Sudan in two ways. First, it drew borders that were extremely incompatible with the diversity it contained. Second, it empowered specific groups creating patterns of social and economic disparity. Both decisions shaped Sudan's development in the decades following independence. The British focused on the most profitable and least demanding investments, such as economic development in Northern

Sudan. This was because the Northern Arabs and Nubian tribes already had schooling systems with writing technology and fertile land for agriculture.²⁰⁰ When the colonials granted Sudan independence, the Northern Arabs seized power since they were politically organized and relatively more developed than other peripheral groups. An eventual transfer to the Arabs of all-administrative, economic and social institutions followed.

The Northern Arabs were determined to build Sudan on an Arab-Islamic orientation and they continued an economic development pattern similar to that of the British.²⁰¹ Some groups did not welcome this Arab-Islamic vision of the country. Southern Sudanese, who were governed by a separate administration system under colonialism, in particular had an aversion to Arabization. Prior to independence, they pressed for a decentralized system of governance and Khartoum's dismissal of any federal model triggered the first civil war.

The militant Abboud regime (1958-64) formulated and implemented rigid assimilationist policies and this led to the intensification of war and increased the popularity of Anyanya I. The civilian government that inherited power after Abboud's departure allowed for a political opening and facilitated national dialogue. The Southerners responded accordingly by creating political parties, organizations and by participating in the national dialogue. The Northern Arab elite, pressured by national elections, proposed yet another Arab assimilationist agenda. Once again, in response to Arabization, a civil war broke out.

²⁰⁰ Where geographic obstacles such as forests blocked the Southern communities.

²⁰¹ Although State Minister mentioned that the Arabic language was needed as a lingua franca, since it was the most common language in Sudan. He argues that it was natural for the government of Sudan to disseminate the language. As for the economic investment, the government implemented the World's Bank economic policies that developed the North based on the premise of the spill over effect.

The failure of the democratic government led to another military coup headed by Numei. Numei's socialist ideology allowed him to accommodate some of the Southerners' demands through The Addis Ababa Agreement. However, it was international pressure that compelled Numei and Anyanya I to the negotiation table. Numei's purge of many leftists severed his Soviet support and his agreements with neighbouring countries severed support from Anyanya. As both sides found themselves bereft of all support, their only option was peace. The Addis Ababa Agreement provided eleven years of peace. However, its abrogation that was partially orchestrated by the Islamists in Khartoum led to the second civil war and the creation of the SPLA/M. Emeric Rogier suggested, "While in 1956 Southerners were not granted the special arrangements that they had been promised, in 1983 they had taken back from them what they had been conceded eleven years earlier."²⁰²

The SPLA/M was more of an ideological movement than a secessionist one. Moreover, it displayed puissant military skills. This made an agreement between Al-Mahdi, the head of the elected government after the removal of Numei, and the South less probable. Instead of liberating the South, the SPLA/M thought to liberate all of Sudan and turn it into an African-secular nation. Therefore, the SPLA/M rejected the idea of Shariah even within a federal setting.

The coup of 1989 changed the course of the war dramatically. To date, the Bashir government has been the most radical Arab-Islamist government. The government's aggressive and crusading policies turned it into a national and international pariah. In the late 1990's, Khartoum's tensions with its non-Arab neighbours reached its peak. Uganda,

²⁰² Rogier, 17.

Ethiopia, Eritrea, and Chad supported various rebel groups in Sudan (including the SPLA/M) simultaneously. In 1997, Khartoum faced multiple rebel armies who worked together under one commander backed by neighbouring Uganda, Ethiopia, Eritrea, and Chad. Beyond the regional picture, the United States was providing support for Sudan's neighbours as part of its containment of the Islamist ideology. The mounting pressure led Khartoum to reconsider some of its domestic and international policies. Eventually the National Congress Party was pressured into negotiating the CPA with the SPLA/M.

The aim of the CPA was to provide attractive unity to the South, however its application was poor and some of its elements were not implemented.²⁰³ The CPA represented yet another unfulfilled agreement. The contravention of The Addis Ababa Agreement, the Koka Dam Agreement, some of The Comprehensive Peace Agreement provisions and other agreements with Southern factions engraved nothing in the South but mistrust. Taking all the factors into account, the Southerners voted for secession hoping they would end a protracted war of which they were the victims.

Internal Unrest

Sudan's situation is much more difficult since conflicts are not confined between the North and the South. Each of the two regions, with Khartoum and Juba in the lead, has its own complex internal challenges. Khartoum's core problems have been illuminated earlier. In the North, dissent remains widespread as regional underdevelopment, underrepresentation and marginalization still characterize the centre-peripheral relations. Khartoum is still trying to contain the Darfur crisis and the recent

²⁰³ The reasons for the poor implementation vary from technical to political.

war with rebels in South Kordofan state.²⁰⁴ The South faces menacing challenges as well. In 2010, U.S. intelligence stated "Over the next five years, a number of countries in Africa and Asia are at significant risk for a new outbreak of mass killing...among these countries, a new mass killing or genocide is most likely to occur in Southern Sudan."²⁰⁵ On South Sudan's independence other sources stated that the country has never been as close to civil war.

Today, Juba and Khartoum are very similar. Both of the dominant political parties are hostile to a genuine political opening and democracy. Juba has parallel central-peripheral issues with its share of marginalization and transgression. The Southern Dinka tribe has always dominated the SPLA and has consistently alienated smaller regional tribes. SPLA/M's transgression is best understood in the historical context of the alliances and enmities that formed during the civil war. May Ying Welsh writes, "sometimes, whole tribal territories became affiliated with one side or the other, and the vicious North-South war became a defining factor in relations between tribes, infusing old hostilities with a new political dimension."²⁰⁶ Substantial mistrust therefore exists between the SPLA and smaller tribes.

On March 2009, according to the Murle tribe, 700 members were killed when thousands of Nuer and Dinka attacked Murle villages to steal cattle. This is common as there are similar incidents reported to this day. In 2010, reports indicated that villages in

²⁰⁴ Edward Thomas, "Prickly Interdependence," *The World Today.org* (2010) 27.

²⁰⁵ Michael Abramowitz and Lawrence Woocher, "How Genocide Became a National Security Threat," *Foreign Policy*, accessed February 2010, http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2010/02/26/how_genocide_became_a_national_security_threat

²⁰⁶ May Ying Welsh, "Sudan: Transcending Tribes," *Al Jazeera*, accessed July 2011, http://english.aljazeera.net/photo_galleries/africa/201111010324526960.html

the Shilluk kingdom of Southern Sudan were also attacked and burned. Survivors and victims said that the army, SPLA, raped, tortured, and killed hundreds of women, children, men, elders and members of the royal family. Over 10,000 people had to flee into the forest in the middle of the rainy season, without proper clothing, bedding, shelter or food. It is reported that many children have died from hunger and cold.²⁰⁷ The UN and other organizations have reported similar incidents of human rights violations. In fact, an international aid agency director in Juba said, "human rights abuses off the Richter scale, happen in the South."²⁰⁸

Political Reform: Decentralization and Democracy

Given the current state of South and North Sudan, conflict is likely to continue and further secession is not improbable. The leaders of both the North and the South need to decide on whether they would like to continue on a path that has failed or follow a more promising path of democracy, equity and decentralization. Only these elements can reconcile and address Sudan's diversity in the South and the North. Lessons should be mustered from the CPA experiment and both Juba and Khartoum need to strive for a successful inclusive federal model characterized by balanced federal techniques, sound federal culture and just federal politics.

²⁰⁷ Ibid.

²⁰⁸ Ibid.

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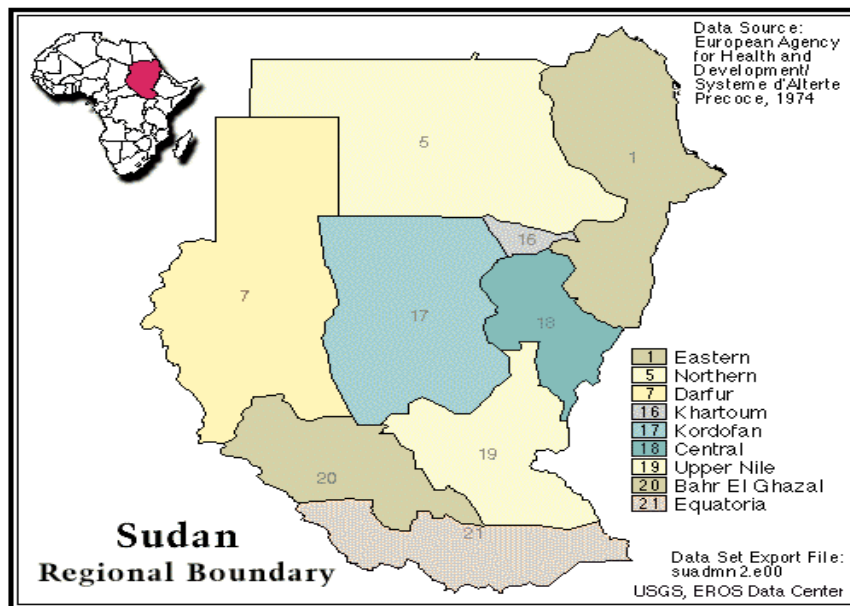
Appendix

Table No. (1)

Regional population distribution and regional ranking by population size from 1973-1983-1993-2008 censuses²⁰⁹

SUDAN Region	1993 (Rank) population (000), %	1983 (Rank) population (000), %	1973 (Rank) population (000), %
Northern Region	(7) 1293 (5.1)	(9) 1084 (5.3)	(7) 918 (6.5)
Khartoum	(3) 3512 (13.7)	(6) 1802 (8.7)	(6) 1096 (7.8)
Central region	(1) 5433 (21.2)	(1) 4022 (19.6)	(1) 3623 (25.7)
Eastern region	(5) 3067 (12.00)	(5) 2209 (10.7)	(4) 1497 (10.6)
Kordofan	(4) 3323 (13.0)	(3) 3091 (15.3)	(2) 2098 (14.9)
Darfur	(2) 4638 (18.1)	(2) 3112 (15.3)	(3) 2077 (4.7)
Bahr Alghazal	(6) 1913 (7.5)	(4) 2271 (11.0)	(5) 1322 (9.4)
Upper Nile	(8) 1258, (4.9)	(7) 1595 (7.7)	(8) 761 (5.4)
Equatoria	(9) 1150, (4.5)	(8) 1408 (6.8)	(9) 722 (5.1)

Source: central bureau of statistics
Analytical report, 1993



²⁰⁹ "Regional population distribution and regional ranking by population size from 1973-1983-1993-2008 censuses," Central bureau of Statistics: Analytical Report (1993), accessed Feb.2010, <http://www.cbs.gov.sd/>

Cont. Table No. (2) تابع جدول رقم

Region	2008			الإقليم
	المرتبة Rank	السكان (بالآلاف) Population (000)	النسبة المئوية %	
Sudan	-	39154	100	السودان
Northern Region	(9)	1820	4.6	الإقليم الشمالي
Khartoum	(3)	5274	13.5	الخرطوم
Central Region	(2)	7423	19.0	الإقليم الأوسط
Eastern Region	(4)	4534	11.6	الإقليم الشرقي
Kordofan	(5)	4327	11.1	كردفان
Darfur	(1)	7515	19.2	دارفور
Bahr Elghazal	(7)	2723	7.0	بحر الغزال
Upper Nile	(6)	2909	7.4	أعالي النيل
Equatoria	(8)	2629	6.7	الاستوائية

Pop.Census 2008

تعداد السكان ٢٠٠٨

Table No. (3)

Summary of the Sudanese Regimes²¹¹

	Build-up Period	Catalyst for change	Issues	Major Actors	Tools and means
1953-58 1 st Democratic period	Relatively long from 1948-53	1953 self-rule Agreement	Independence	Britain, Egypt, Northern parties	Negotiations
1958-64 Military Regime	Long period	Military coup	Islamization and Arabization	Anyanya I	War
1964-69 Transitional period and 2 nd Democratic period	Short period	Student demonstrations	Islamization and Arabization	Anyanya I	War
1969-1985 Military Regime- 71 and one party state-85	Long period	Military Coup	North-South Addis Ababa peace agreement	Anyanya I and Numeri government	Negotiations and mediation
1986-1989 3 rd Democratic Period	Short period	Urban unrest and labour union strikes	Economy and North-South Issue	Mahdi gov't & SPLM	Negotiations and war
1989-1999 Military regime, One Party state	Long period	Military coup	Islamization and Arabization	SPLM and Bashir gov't	War

²¹⁰ Ibid.²¹¹ Atta El-Battahani, 35.

Table No. (4)

13-23 December 2000 Presidential Election*/**²¹²

Registered Voters 12,000,000 (approx.)

Total Votes (Voter Turnout) Not Available

Candidate Party	% Of Votes
Omar Hassan Al-Bashir (NCP)	86.5%
Jaafar Nimeiri (APWF)	9.6%
Malik Hussain	1.6%
Al-Samuel Hussein Osman Mansour (LD)	1.3%
Mahmoud Ahmed Juna	1.0%

*The election was boycotted by most of the major opposition parties.

**Voting did not take place in three Southern states that were under rebel control.

Table No. (5)

13-23 December 2000 National Assembly Election*/**²¹³

Registered Voters 12,000,000 (approx.)

Total Votes (Voter Turnout) Not Available

Party	Number of Seats (360)
National Congress Party (NCP)	355
Independents	5

*The election was boycotted by most of the major opposition parties.

**Voting did not take place in three Southern states that were under rebel control.

²¹² "Sudan," African Election Databases, accessed Oct. 2010,
<http://africanelections.tripod.com/sd.html>

²¹³ Ibid.

Table No. (6)

- Sudanese Government - Regional Representation (%)²¹⁴

Regions	States	Population Share (%, 2001)	Regimes					
			Abboud 1954-64 (Military)	Second Democracy 1964-69	Numeri (Military) 1969-85	Transitional Military Council 1985-86	Third Democracy (Al-Mahdi) 1986-89	Revolutionary Command Council (Al Bashir) June 1989
Eastern	Gedharif							
	Kassala	11.7	1.4	2.05	2.5	0	2.6	0
	Red Sea							
Northern	Northern River Nile	4.7	79	67.9	68.7	70	47.4	66.7
Central	Blue Nile							
	Gezira							
	Khartoum	36.9	2.8	6.2	16.5	10	14.7	0
	Sinnar							
	White Nile							
Southern	Bahr Al-Ghazal							
	Equatorial	16.0	16	17.3	7.8	16.7	12.9	13.3
	Upper Nile							
Western	Darfur							
	Kordofan	30.6	0	6.2	3.5	3.3	22.4	20

Table No. (7)

Sudan's Democratic Periods²¹⁵

	Build-up Period	Catalyst for change	Issues	Major Actors	Tools and means
1953-58 1 st Democratic period	Relatively long from 1948-53	1953 self-rule Agreement	Independence	Britain, Egypt, Northern parties	Negotiations
1958-64 Military Regime	Long period	Military coup	Islamization and Arabization	Anyanya I	War
1964-69 Transitional period and 2 nd Democratic period	Short period	Student demonstrations	Islamization and Arabization	Anyanya I	War
1969-1985 Military Regime-71 and one party state-85	Long period	Military Coup	North-South Addis Ababa peace agreement	Anyanya I and Numeri government	Negotiations and mediation
1986-1989 3 rd Democratic Period	Short period	Urban unrest and labour union strikes	Economy and North-South Issue	Mahdi gov't & SPLM	Negotiations and war
1989-1999 Military regime, One Party state	Long period	Military coup	Islamization and Arabization	SPLM and Bashir gov't	War
2000-2005 Restricted Democratic Practice	Medium period	Oil, international pressure	North-South Darfur	SPLM, NCP (Khartoum Gov't), IGAD	N-S - Negotiations Darfur - War
2005-2011 4 th Democratic Period	Medium Period	Comprehensive Peace Agreement	North-South	SPLM, NCP, IGAD	Negotiations and Secession

²¹⁴ Cobham, 464.

²¹⁵ Atta El-Battahani, 35.

Table No. (8)**11-15 April 2010 Presidential Election**²¹⁶

Registered voters 16,500,000

Total Votes (Voter Turnout) N/A

Invalid/Blank Votes N/A

Total Valid Votes 10,114,310

Candidate (Party)	Number of Votes	% of Votes
Omar Hassan al-Bashir (NCP)	6,901,694	68.24%
Yasir Arman (SPLM)	2,193,826	21.69%
Abdullah Deng Nhial (PCP)	396,139	3.92%
Hatim Al-Sir (DUP)	195,668	1.93%
Others		4.22%

Prior to the election being held, a total of five candidates had withdrawn from the race: Yasir Arman, Sadiq Al-Mahdi, Hatim Al-Sir, Mubarak Al-Fadil, and Mohamed Ibrahim Nugud. Their names, however, remained on the ballot and each gained votes.

Table No. (9)**11-15 April 2010 National Assembly Election**²¹⁷

Registered Voters 16,500,00 (approx) Total Voters N/A

Party	Number of Seats (450)
National Congress Party (NCP)	323
Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM)	99
Popular Congress Party (PCP)	4
Democratic Unionist Party (DUP)	4
Umma Federal Party (UFP)	3
Umma Renewal and Reform Party (URRP)	2
Democratic Unionist Party-Original (DUPO)	2
Sudan People's Liberation Movement-Democratic Change (SPLM-DC)	2
Others	4
Independents	3
Vacant	4

²¹⁶ "Sudan," African Election Databases, accessed Oct. 2010,
<http://africanelections.tripod.com/sd.html>

²¹⁷ Ibid.